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CONTENTS

THE WEEK:

Tariff Concessions in the Philippines.... 199
The Philippine Civil Government Bill.... 199
Cuban Sugar Interests..... 201
Recent Appointments..... 202
Dr. Parkhurst on the Excise Law..... 202
The Tunnel Investigation..... 203
Wireless Telegraphy..... 204
The British Parliament..... 205
Germany and the United States..... 206
Germany and England..... 206
The Russians at Niuchang..... 207
News from Mexico..... 207
The Presidency of Williams College..... 208
The Indeterminate Sentence Law..... 208
A Lutheran View of Sunday..... 209
Christian Civics..... 209
A Religious Building at the St. Louis Fair 210

EDITORIALS:

The National Capital..... 210
The Charities in New York State..... 211
Better than Socialism..... 213
The Simple Life..... 214
At the End of the Journey..... 216

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES:

The Indians' Last Stand..... 217
By Charles Moreau Harger

A Visit to Herr Krupp..... 222
By Edward A. Steiner

The Story of an East Side Family. VI.—The Progress and Founding of the Family 227
By Lillian W. Betts

Arbitration at the Pan-American Congress..... 232
By Thomas R. Dawley, Jr.

Missionaries in Relation to Ethnic Religions and Co-operation..... 236
By James L. Barton

BOOKS AND AUTHORS:

The True Thomas Jefferson (Curtis)..... 239
Books of the Week..... 242
CORRESPONDENCE..... 246

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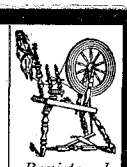

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The Outlook

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Tariff Concession to the Philippines

The event of the week in Congress was the decision of the Republican members of the Senate Committee on the Philippines to amend the Philippine Tariff Bill so as to relieve our imports from these islands of twenty-five per cent. of the duties imposed on imports from foreign countries—one-half the reduction asked for by the present Philippine Commission. It is, however, a substantial concession to Philippine products, and is not to be offset by the requirement of a like concession to American products entering the Philippines. The Philippine duties on imports from the United States are to remain precisely the same as upon imports from foreign countries—the Administration thus faithfully maintaining the principle of the "open door" which it asks other nations to maintain in the Orient. The fact that this principle keeps open to American goods markets much more important than those of the Philippines proves the wisdom as well as the justice of the Administration's position in this matter. Any discrimination in favor of American goods in the Philippines would by treaty have to be extended for ten years to imports from Spain, and would be sure to cause other nations holding sway in the Orient to retaliate upon us. The Senate amendments not only grant all Philippine products a concession of one-quarter from our usual tariff duties, but also grant Philippine products subject to an export duty there a further tariff concession equal to the export duty levied. Thus all Philippine products can enter the American market with fully twenty-five per cent. less taxation than is imposed upon the products of other countries. The Democratic members of the Philippine Committee take no exception to the maintenance of the "open door" in the Philippines, but have adopted resolutions demanding that imports from the Philippines shall not be taxed at all so long as the islands are subject to American control, and that the islands be given their independence as soon as their people, with our co-operation, can establish a stable government. When Philippine independence is thus established, the Democratic resolutions provide that Philippine products shall be taxed in our ports at the same rate as the products of other foreign countries. All the Democratic members of the Senate except Mr. McEnery, of Louisiana, are said to support the Democratic programme thus formulated, and a warm debate is anticipated. Whatever the Senate agrees upon, after the debate, is likely to be accepted by the House, which, since its extreme abridgment of the right of debate, has almost lost its rank as a co-ordinate branch of the National Legislature.

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The Philippine Civil Government Bill: Industrial Development

Two bills have been introduced into Congress for the civil government of the Philippine Islands—one by Senator Lodge in the Senate, one by Mr. Cooper, of Wisconsin, in the House. The two bills cover practically the same ground in practically the same way in their dealing with the industrial and commercial development of the islands, and substantially follow the recommendations made to Congress by the present Philippine Commission. In this analysis we follow Senator Lodge's bill. It provides that the Government in the Philippines shall make rules for the disposition of public lands other than timber and mineral lands, but that these rules shall not have the authority of law until approved by the President and until Congress shall have had an opportunity to pass upon them. Where any of these public lands are now occupied by natives, the consent of the occupant must be

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obtained to any sale or lease made of his claim. If the occupant can show no other proof of ownership except his occupancy, he cannot claim control of more than one hundred and sixty acres. This provision, both in letter and spirit, seems to be modeled upon our own homestead laws. Timber lands shall remain public property and only rights to cut and remove timber shall be granted. For the disposition and regulation of mineral lands an elaborate code is provided, modeled after our mining laws. The Philippine Government is authorized to acquire the lands of the religious orders by the exercise of the right of eminent domain, issuing its own bonds in payment. It is given authority to grant public franchises and to authorize local governments to grant them; provided that all franchises shall be subject to amendment or repeal by the Congress of the United States, and also shall contain provisions for public inspection of accounts and regulation of charges. In our judgment, a clause should be added limiting the time for which such franchises should be granted to a term certainly not exceeding fifty years. A temporary government ought not to be permitted to grant permanent franchises. As to the currency, the act stipulates that our gold dollar shall be the standard, but that silver pesos of the value of half a dollar and fractional silver money shall continue to be coined. The Government is directed to maintain at all times the parity of gold and silver, and for this purpose is authorized to pay gold for silver or silver for gold. The most interesting and important currency provision, however, is contained in the sections relating to banking. They authorize the National banks and branch banks established in the Philippine Islands to issue circulating notes to the amount of fifty per cent. of their paid-up and unimpaired capital, without depositing Government bonds to secure the notes thus issued. In this country a National bank must deposit with the Treasury Government bonds to the value of the notes it is allowed to issue, and in this way the law not only makes certain the full face value of the bank notes, but also enables the Treasury Department to issue two per cent. bonds at a premium at a time when the three per cent. bonds of other nations are at a discount. In the Philippine Islands, under the Lodge bill, the banks will have note-issuing privileges similar to those which State banks exercised before the Civil War. These provisions appear to be conceived in the spirit of the Commission's recommendations; they should, however, be carefully scrutinized. The failure of any bank organized under American law to provide for the payment of its notes would be a political as well as a commercial disaster.

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The Philippine Civil Government Bill: Political Organization

In dealing with the problem of political organization, Senator Lodge's bill merely confirms the civil and military powers now executed by civil and military appointees of the President, and leaves the provision of a political constitution to the future. Mr. Cooper's bill endeavors to comply with the recommendation of the Philippine Commission that Congress not only confirm the authority already conferred on the Provincial Government and the acts of such government, but that it also make provision for a permanent civil government to begin on January 1, 1904. In doing this Mr. Cooper's bill follows in the main the recommendations of the Commission, already reported in our columns. It provides that after January 1, 1904, the executive power shall be vested in a Governor and a Cabinet of six heads of Departments—namely, a Secretary, an Attorney-General, a Treasurer, an Auditor, a Commissioner of the Interior, and a Commissioner of Education. These are all required to reside in the Philippines; they are to be appointed and also to be removable by the President. They may or may not be natives; but no person holding any civil or military office under the United States is eligible to appointment in this Cabinet. The Governor and his Cabinet, with five native inhabitants of the Philippines, also appointed by the President, constitute a Council, corresponding in political functions to our Senate. The House of Delegates, corresponding to our House of Representatives, consists of thirty members, elected biennially by the people. In order to vote at this election for delegates, the voter must be twenty-one years of age, able to read or write either Spanish or

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English, *or* possess taxable property, real or personal, situated in the Philippines, and must have resided in the Philippines for one year next preceding the election. All legislative functions are exercised by the concurrent action of these two houses, one elected by the people, the other appointed by the President. The salaries of the Governor and Cabinet officers are fixed, the first at fifteen thousand, the second at ten thousand dollars each, per annum; the salaries of delegates at five dollars a day; the salaries of the native members of the Council are left, as are the salaries of all officers not appointed by the President, to be fixed by the Legislature. The provisions for the protection of religious freedom and property and personal rights are substantially those of our own Constitution; but there are no specific provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, the right to bear arms, or trial by jury.

❀

The Significance of This Scheme

Under this system the United States cannot force any legislation upon the people against their will, nor can a popular element secure any legislation against the judgment of the Nation as represented by appointees of the President. In other words, local and National judgment must coincide to secure any legislation. To this principle one important exception is made; recent history in Hawaii indicates the necessity of this exception. "In case of failure of the Legislature during the three months of its regular session to vote the necessary supplies for the carrying on of the government of the Philippines, as provided by law, then, and in that event, the right and full power and authority to vote such supplies is hereby vested in the Council." In forming his judgment of the constitution thus proposed as the fundamental law for the Archipelago, the reader must remember the facts that it substantially follows the recommendations of the Philippine Commission, that the three native Filipino Commissioners agreed in these recommendations as to the form of a permanent civil government, and that other Filipinos consulted approved the qualifications for suffrage embodied in these provisions, except, in the words of the Commissioners, "that there were many of them who advocated a higher qualification." We hope that Congress will take no action on either Senator Lodge's or Mr. Cooper's bill until after the arrival of Judge Taft in this country and an opportunity for consultation with him. In the essential provision, requiring the concurrent action of an Assembly elected by the people, which will represent local opinion, and a Council appointed by the President, which will represent National judgment, the bills appear to The Outlook both right and wise.

❀

Cuban Sugar Interests

In the House as well as in the Senate the most important work of the week was done in committee. All through the week the House Committee on Ways and Means continued its hearings upon reciprocity with Cuba. The request for reciprocity made by the Cubans, by the American officials in Cuba, and by American capitalists interested in sugar plantations was supported by representatives of New York commercial bodies, who urged strongly the advantage to this country of enlarged trade with the naturally rich neighboring island. The influential opposition came chiefly from the beet-sugar growers, who still claim to control the attitude of the Republican Representatives from several States. If the Democrats in the House were solidly in favor of Cuban reciprocity, as they were for free trade with Porto Rico, there would be no doubt as to the success of the struggle for reciprocity. But, as a rule, the Democrats are indifferent—some of them apparently fearing that reciprocity with Cuba will bind the island to future annexation. Over against this, however, some of the advocates of reciprocity assert that its failure will produce such financial distress in Cuba that political disorder would ensue and make annexation inevitable. The fact that raw sugar last week reached the lowest price on record—less than three and a half cents a pound in the New York market—made the demand of the Cubans for reciprocity the more urgent. The New York price of sugar is the price after the duty of one and two-thirds cents a pound has been paid. The Cuban producer of the sugar sold in New York last week received

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less than one and three-quarters cents a pound for it—after he paid all the cost of shipping it into New York Harbor. One of the American investors in Cuban sugar who testified before the House Committee last week admitted that his business had been profitable last year in spite of the low prices, but he believed that his case was exceptional. If this year's prices continue, few planters, if any, can raise sugar at a profit. The distressingly low price of sugar in Cuba, however, only makes the sugar-growers of this country the more anxious to prevent Cuban reciprocity. The result of the conflict is still in doubt, for the friends of reciprocity are unorganized, while its opponents are organized. Every friend of humanity may well exert whatever influence he possesses to secure from Congress a support for the policy of good will toward Cuba in this matter which is urged by the Administration and was so ably presented in our columns last week by General Wood.

❀

Recent Appointments Last week President Roosevelt sent several important nominations to the Senate. To replace the late President Harrison as a member of the permanent Court of Arbitration under the Hague Peace Conference, Mr. Oscar S. Straus was named. Mr. Straus is a fit man for the position, and the nomination calls for special chronicling because it recognizes the non-partisan character of the place to be filled. Mr. Straus has been a lifelong Democrat. President Cleveland appointed him Minister to Turkey, and President McKinley reappointed him to that office—certainly a marked tribute from a political opponent to exceptional qualifications for service. Mr. Straus is the author of several works which have an international reputation—"The Origin of Republican Form of Government in the United States," "Roger Williams," and "The Development of Religious Liberty." The other members of the American delegation are Chief Justice Fuller, ex-Attorney-General Griggs, and ex-Senator Gray.—— The President has also appointed the representatives to attend the coronation of Edward VII. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York "Tribune," will be the Special Ambassador. This is the second time for him to serve his country as special ambassador to an English monarch, the first occasion having been at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Mr. Reid has also been Minister to France, and one of the Spanish Peace Treaty Commission. He is the author of a number of books, his recent publications on "Some Consequences of the Last Treaty of Paris," "Our New Duties," and "Problems of Expansion" having attracted particularly wide notice. His appointment, of course, interferes in no way with the position of our permanent Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. Mr. Reid's associates on the mission are to be General James H. Wilson, to represent the army, and Captain Charles E. Clark, to represent the navy. General Wilson is well known as a soldier, author, and traveler. He was one of the few general officers appointed from civil life retained until the expiration of the volunteer army organized for the Spanish War. His most recent military service has been that of adviser to our Minister in China during the peace negotiations at Peking. Captain Clark is well known as the commander of the battle-ship Oregon in her famous run from San Francisco to Santiago in 1898, and in the battle at the latter place.

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Dr. Parkhurst on the Excise Law Monday's New York morning papers publish a letter from the Society for the Prevention of Crime, signed by Dr. Parkhurst as President and Mr. Kenneson as Secretary, which contains a plausible indictment of the present municipal government for its failure to enforce strictly in the city of New York the excise laws of the State. The gist of this letter is contained in the following sentences:

> The first two weeks of the present régime have practically put the Mayoralty in revolt against the Legislature, have obscured the entire situation so far as relates to one large and elaborate class of statutes—statutes, by the way, to which the Legislature is so committed as to seem resolutely opposed to their modification—have made it entirely indefinite as to what civic righteousness in this city is and what it is not, and to that extent have operated to put the reform administration in the same criminal attitude toward the law as was that occupied by the administration of 1892–94 and that of 1897–1901.

The letter then states the argument against the rigorous enforcement of the law, that

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it will give opportunity for the return to power of Tammany, recognizes the awkwardness of the situation in which the municipal administration is placed by the sworn obligation to do its best to enforce a law that is quite likely non-enforceable, and closes with the following vigorous statement of the Society's claim:

> With all the embarrassments, however, with which your position is complicated, and with an appreciation of the situation gained by rather protracted intimacy with it, we are emphatic in our insistence that you brace your administration into accord with your oath, that you summon the exceptional resources that are at your command to the work of frankly and resolutely suppressing open or clandestine violation of recognized statutes, and thus either dignify law by the success with which you enforce it, or, by the demonstrated impossibility of enforcing it, convict the Legislature of its moral obligation to come to your relief.

❀

The Fallacy of This Demand The implicit claim of this letter, that all laws must be rigorously enforced by the officials and absolutely obeyed by the citizens, is one which history proves to be untenable in practice, and philosophy, interpreted by history, proves to be false in ethics. In 1850 a law was passed by the United States Congress for the return by Federal officials to slavery of all slaves escaping into the Northern States. It was insisted then that every citizen was bound to yield obedience to this law, and every official was bound to enforce it until it was repealed. We wonder if Dr. Parkhurst thinks this contention sound. In the sixteenth century the Netherlands were a part of the Spanish Empire, and Spanish law made it a penal offense to worship except with Roman Catholic forms, or to teach or even to entertain other than Roman Catholic opinions. Margaret of Parma was the Governor of the Netherlands, and William the Silent urged Margaret of Parma not to enforce strictly in the Netherlands these Spanish laws against freedom of religion. We wonder if Dr. Parkhurst thinks William the Silent was wrong in his counsel and the Duke of Alva right in his insistence upon enforcement. We do not compare the present excise law with the fugitive slave law or the Inquisition, but these historic incidents serve to illustrate a principle which we think all true statesmen have been accustomed to recognize—namely, that when a law is enacted by one community to be enforced in another community, the officials charged with its enforcement must, in the degree and extent of the enforcement, take account of the public sentiment of the community in which it is to be enforced. Whether the Sunday-closing law in its present form is right or not we do not here discuss; the Society for the Prevention of Crime expressly declines to express an opinion on that question. But as between the contention of this letter, that every law is to be strictly enforced until it is repealed, and the contention of Mr. Low that "the extreme of the law is the extreme of injustice," The Outlook believes Mr. Low's position to be the more sane, the more rational, and the more righteous.

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The Tunnel Investigation The testimony taken last week at the Coroner's investigation of the recent collision in the tunnel of the New York Central Railroad in this city has brought out several facts which may fairly be called startling—facts which bear not alone on this accident, but on the general management of the tunnel. Thus it appears that the engineer of the train which passed the signal and crashed into the train ahead was making his second trip through the tunnel in charge of a passenger train, and, although the air was heavy and the smoke unusually thick, no experienced engineer was sent with him—a precaution which common sense suggests as necessary under the circumstances for safety's sake. Moreover, Mr. Franklin, the terminal superintendent of the road, who has charge of the tunnel transit, admitted that it was a not uncommon occurrence for engineers to run past the danger signal and to report in excuse that smoke and fog prevented them from seeing signals or made the green signals look white, or that torpedoes failed to explode. Eighteen reports of this character were found to exist for the year 1901 alone. It does not appear that serious punishment followed, but Mr. Franklin admitted that repeated failures to make schedule time would probably result in an engineer's being assigned to less desirable work. The evidence showed also that there was no rule governing speed in the tunnel. It is not neces-

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sary to assign blame or to denounce the railroad officials in order to reach the conclusion that here is a state of things which must not be allowed to continue, even if the use of the tunnel for steam-engines is peremptorily forbidden. Where lies the remedy? Apparently not with the coroner's jury, for in 1891 a coroner's jury found that an accident in the tunnel in which six persons were killed and many wounded was caused by fog, smoke, and steam, on account of which the engineer could not see signals; that the officers and directors of the New York and New Haven road were "immediately responsible" for the ensuing deaths; that the New York Central should be compelled to provide better ventilation and light; that "the use of one man in the signal cabs is insufficient;" that a uniform rate of speed be adopted for all trains in the tunnel, with other recommendations. Yet, as the testimony last week shows, many if not all of the conditions which caused the accident of 1891 exist to-day, caused the disaster of January 8, and, so far as the public can judge, may cause a similar horror any day. The promise of partial or even full remedy a year or two hence will hardly satisfy public opinion. The Coroner's inquiry is still in progress as we write; it will be followed by an investigation on the part of the State Railroad Commission, which should be concerned not so much with determining the moral responsibility for the accident as in laying down clearly principles which must be followed to give a quick and sure remedy for the future. It is for experts to tell us what this is; it is for the people, through State or city officials, to enforce action which will assure this remedy, regardless of expense or labor.

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The New York Central's Plans Meanwhile the New York Central Railroad has made public some important plans for the future, which should receive full and close attention from the public officials. The plans provide for increased terminal facilities at the Grand Central Station and between the Grand Central and the tunnel; this will result from the purchase of a strip of land parallel with the present line and extending from Forty-ninth to Fifty-sixth Street, together with the greater part of the two blocks from Forty-eighth to Fiftieth Streets and between Park Avenue and Lexington Avenue. This expansion below the tunnel is needed and will probably in the end repay the company for the enormous expense involved—the directors announce that for this and other purposes bonds for $35,000,000 will be issued. But it does not do away with the congestion in the tunnel, where over three hundred trains daily are passed over four tracks. For the tunnel problem proper the company proposes a partial adoption of electricity as power, to be used for suburban trains only and in the side tunnels, while steam will remain the power for the heavy trains of the through traffic to be taken through the central tunnel. The tracks of the side tunnels will be depressed as they approach the station so as to form an underground loop, utilizing a sub-station under the main station. Rumors exist that the company is contemplating a union with the elevated system or with the rapid-transit system, and that it will in time make its full suburban service electrical. The Outlook does not wish to pass on the sufficiency of these plans; what it urgently holds is that they should be passed on by competent expert authority in behalf of the people, who have a right to be protected completely and certainly as well as promptly. A letter in the New York "Times" from Mr. George Westinghouse points out that electric traction is not devoid of elements of danger, and the letter has the more force because of the fact that its writer is interested very heavily in electricity and its practical application. On this point it need only be said here that the new underground roads in London and Paris, the systems used by the Baltimore and Ohio and other roads here, and the plans of the Pennsylvania and Long Island roads, show that advances in this direction are being made constantly.

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Wireless Telegraphy One of the most interesting achievements of the wireless system of telegraphy took place recently when two ocean steamers, the Lucania of the Cunard Line and the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse of the North German Lloyd Company, talked with each

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other through the Marconi apparatus for nearly three days. Many messages were exchanged during this time at varying distances; and some of the German ship's passengers sent to the Lucania messages for transmission to the wireless station at the Lizard, and thence to persons in England. The rapid development of wireless telegraphy was forcibly presented by Mr. Marconi himself in his reply to a toast at the dinner given in his honor by the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. Here for the first time the full story of the reception of wireless messages in Newfoundland sent from Wales was told. The accounts heretofore printed in American papers have been incomplete. Mr. Marconi pointed out that what was received was not merely a single letter S signal (three dots), as previously reported, but that the signal was received repeatedly on two successive days, and at a prearranged time and a prearranged speed. This statement dispels all doubt that may have been felt as to the reality of the transmission of telegraphic signals without cables across the Atlantic. It is impossible to doubt that the fact is established. Mr. Marconi stated that permanent stations would be established at once, probably both in Nova Scotia and at Cape Cod; that to increase the power at the station in Wales to such a degree that it would be possible to send complete and extended messages was purely a mechanical matter, and that it was certain of accomplishment. He declared his firm belief that it would soon be possible to send several messages across the ocean at the same time and in a way commercially useful. The general impression that it would be impossible to send a message in such a way that it could not be received by every station having the wireless apparatus was dispelled by Mr. Marconi's assertion that it is quite possible to tune or key each individual apparatus so that it would be responsive only to a corresponding machine.

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The British Parliament The opening of Parliament last week was the most brilliant spectacle of its kind seen in our generation. The royal procession was even more striking than that witnessed at the opening of King Edward VII.'s first Parliament. Within the House or Lords were the members of the House of Commons, summoned there to hear the King's Speech. This is never the monarch's personal expression of opinion, but that of the Cabinet in power. An unwonted amount of state pageantry and revival of ancient forms marked the ceremony. More impressive, however, was the assurance of popular approval given to the first sovereign of the House of Saxe-Coburg and to his Ministry. It had been shown in the enthusiasm of the "man in the street," who sought the best possible point of vantage from which to greet the King and Queen. It was shown again by what is said to be an unprecedented occurrence in the House of Lords. At a certain point the Speech was broken by a burst of spontaneous and prolonged cheering. This interruption took place when the passage was reached in which the King was made to say: "In spite of the tedious character of the [Boer] campaign, my soldiers throughout have displayed a cheerfulness in the endurance of the hardships incident to guerrilla warfare and a humanity, even to their own detriment, in their treatment of the enemy, which are deserving of the highest praise." Not only among the supporters of the present Cabinet, but among most Liberal groups, there is no thought of turning back from a war which has proven far costlier to life, treasure, and prestige than was at first anticipated. No intimation was made of terms of peace other than an unconditional surrender. The Liberal Earl Spencer declared afterwards in debate that, while it was impossible to grant Boer demands for independence, he must deprecate the Government's insistence on unconditional surrender. He urged it instead to promise to the Boers similar treatment to that enjoyed by Canada and Australia. The Earl of Rosebery also remarked that the Speech was "jejune" in this respect, and that a weaker statement had never been put in a monarch's mouth by his Ministers: instead, these should be open to offers of settlement from the Boers. As to other portions of the Speech, the King was able to report unbroken peace between Great Britain and the rest of the world, and one signal triumph in strengthening friendship with America—the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

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The King also referred to a hoped-for repeal of the Continental sugar bounty systems. He praised the colonies' loyalty as shown during the recent journey through them of the present Prince of Wales. Macaulay once remarked that no document could be more colorless than a King's Speech; but the general comment seems to be that King Edward's was a stronger statement than is ordinarily drafted for the opening of Parliament. While it included a proposal to facilitate the sale and purchase of land in Ireland, the Speech might have been still stronger had it also included measures to relieve congested districts and to provide better houses for the working classes there.

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Germany and the United States

The United States has so long been grossly misunderstood on the Continent, and is still so generally misunderstood and so constantly misrepresented, that any friendly advance made by any Continental Power ought to be met in the most cordial spirit. When a nation is feared or detested because its motives are misunderstood, its only wise policy is to endeavor to explain and interpret itself. The relations between the United States and Germany have always been friendly, although not at all times cordial. The Emperor is apparently anxious to turn friendly relations into more cordial ones; and his decision to name the yacht which is being built for him in this country after a daughter of President Roosevelt, his invitation to Miss Roosevelt to christen the yacht, and later his decision to send his brother, Admiral Prince Henry, as his special representative to this country, are events which have on their surface purely social significance, but which are to be met as the friendly advances of a Great Power. The launching of the yacht will take place on February 25. Prince Henry will arrive in this country a few days in advance, and will receive from the President, the Government, and the people a most cordial welcome. He belongs to a family distinguished for its ability; and those Americans who know him regard him, not only as a very able man, like his brother, the Emperor, but also as a man of tact, courtesy, and good feeling. He will be the guest of the people of the United States, who will receive him, not only as befits his rank, but as the representative of a great people, very largely represented in the best population of the country, and who have long been among the foremost servants of the higher civilization.

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Germany and England

The past few weeks have been marked by an outbreak of bad feeling between France and Germany on one side and England on the other, of unusual virulence. The war between the British and the Boers seems to have awakened into active expression that animosity to England which is always slumbering on the Continent. For months past the French caricaturists have been specially offensive. In many cases their caricatures have gone far beyond the line of legitimate attack and have become grossly indecent—so indecent that the Government has been obliged to interfere. The sentiment of the boulevards is not, however, very influential, and has not made much impression upon England, except to awaken a feeling of indignation that the late Queen should have been so irreverently and indecorously misrepresented. Mr. Chamberlain, who is not a peacemaker, and who seems to enjoy stirring up strife, is responsible for the very sharp outbreak of verbal hostilities between Germany and England. In a speech made several weeks ago in answer to the charges of cruelty against the English troops and the English policy in South Africa, he made definite charges of cruelty against the German armies during the Franco-German war. In fact, he turned upon the critics of England by a general arraignment of the Continental nations for lack of civilized methods and the civilized spirit in the conduct of war. His criticism of the German army touched Germany to the quick, and evoked a chorus of passionate recriminations from the German newspapers. In Germany, as in France, people are very sensitive about the army, and are not disposed to tolerate any serious criticism from foreigners. Count von Bülow, the German Prime Minister, took the unusual course of replying to Mr. Chamberlain in a speech in the Reichstag which contributed more material to the general conflagration, and this speech in turn was

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followed by various outbreaks of antagonism in the Reichstag on the part of Radical members who were more outspoken than the Chancellor. There is reason to believe that the Emperor is doing all within his power to allay the irritation, but he has been unable to make very much headway against the popular feeling. This outbreak of recrimination and international discourtesy is not likely to be serious; like many other similar outbreaks, it will probably be forgotten in a few months. What has given it some importance has been the fact that not only newspapers but responsible ministers have been the spokesmen of national hatred. Mr. Chamberlain has skillfully used the occasion to emphasize the loyalty of the British colonies to the mother country and the solidity of an empire based on world-wide support.

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The Russians at Niuchang

During the Boxer atrocities of 1900, and with the excuse that her trans-Manchurian railway was imperiled, Russia occupied the Chinese province of Manchuria with troops, and especially the principal commercial port of the province, Niuchang. She took charge of the custom-house at that place and has since levied and collected Russian duties on imported goods there. Up to the time of this levy, American trade in no Chinese treaty port had increased more rapidly than in Niuchang, but since that time the disabilities to commerce and to personal liberty have caused a decline. Thus, endeavoring to trade in a town still under Chinese sovereignty, where protection has always been assured under rights secured by the United States through treaty with China, our countrymen have found themselves checked and have appealed for redress. Their indignation was recently increased when Russia seized the telegraph lines of Manchuria, thus affecting the interests, not only of our merchants, but of our missionaries, consular agents, and naval officers. Those in their charge and employ, it would seem, now share their irritation; at all events, during the past fortnight information has been received concerning collisions between men from the American gunboat Vicksburg, in winter quarters at Niuchang, and Russian sailors on shore. The actual fighting may be considered as a negligible quantity; it will undoubtedly be regarded by both Governments as but an inevitable result when American, Russian, or any other sailors are given liberty on shore after having been very closely confined to a ship. Quite another matter, however, as we ought to compel Russia to acknowledge, lies in the facts that merchants have not been able to obtain their just rights, and that our Navy Department has been outrageously hampered in communicating with the Vicksburg by inability to secure the use of the telegraph line connecting Niuchang with the Chinese cable system. In view of these things, assurances from the Russian Government that Manchurian occupation was merely "temporary and for the purpose of pacification only" may well be regarded with suspicion, especially as Manchuria, or at least that part in the neighborhood of Niuchang, is now thoroughly pacified. Few observers have ever cherished any illusion as to Russia's real purpose in North China—a permanent occupation. That purpose is now evident to all.

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News from Mexico

On Friday of last week there occurred in Mexico two particularly important events, one physical, the other political. The first was a violent earthquake shock, felt especially at Chilpangcingo, the capital of the province of Guerrero, and almost half-way due south between the City of Mexico and Acapulco on the Pacific. Reports from the stricken district indicate that about three hundred persons were killed and many more injured. The number of deaths in the parish church was greater than in any other single place, as a crowd of worshipers had gathered there for a religious service. In the City of Mexico itself the earthquake was of enough violence to shake the most substantial buildings, but the total damage was very slight. The Pan-American Congress was in session at the time, and many of the delegates were alarmed. The earthquake may or may not have had something to do with the sudden clearing of the atmosphere in regard to the arbitration proposals, which we have already outlined and about which there has been acrid wrangling ever since

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they were submitted. With apparent excellent feeling on all sides, the plan of arbitration passed the Congress. The opposition to the plan of arbitration proceeded chiefly from Chili, whose representatives declared that the project before the Congress specifically compelled arbitration on matters "which originated in occurrences antedating the present treaty." This, Chili asserted, was in flat contradiction to the programme laid down in the invitation to the Congress. Our correspondent, Mr. Dawley, in another place gives a full account of the dissensions that followed. Happily, in the end conciliation was found possible, and an agreement was reached by which a treaty of arbitration is recommended to the countries represented, while Chili is allowed to insert in the protocol her objections to some of its provisions. In the main the Hague Convention will be recommended to the countries involved as a reasonable method of securing an end which all profess to desire.

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The Presidency of Williams College

The unanimous election of Dr. Henry Hopkins, of Kansas City, Mo., to succeed Dr. Carter as President of Williams College insures the continuance of the traditions which have given Williams its peculiar character and its place of exceptional influence. Dr. Hopkins is the son of Mark Hopkins, one of the foremost of American thinkers and teachers, who, more than any other single person, has put his stamp upon the ideals and spirit of Williams. Born in Williamstown, a graduate of the College, Dr. Hopkins served through the Civil War as an army chaplain, gaining an invaluable experience by his personal contact with every type of man. In 1860 he was ordained a Congregational minister. His first pastorate was in Massachusetts; but for many years past he has been the eminently successful pastor of the First Congregational Church in Kansas City, Mo., revealing remarkable qualities of administration, knowledge of men, and skill in handling large matters. Dr. Hopkins has an exceptionally attractive personality. He is vigorous, active, generous in spirit, and of a winning temperament; all men are his friends. He has been for many years not only one of the foremost ministers, but one of the foremost citizens of Kansas City, and has disclosed his grasp of affairs by his insight into the larger needs of the community, and the practical ability with which he has aided in developing the community life along religious, educational, civic, and other lines. To his enthusiasm is due in no small measure the admirable park system of Kansas City. Dr. Hopkins has always taken a pronounced interest in educational affairs; as trustee of his own college and of Drury College he has had an inside view of college management, and, although not an educator by profession, he brings to his new position very considerable knowledge of educational matters, and, what is better, perception of the value of expert advice in dealing with the technicalities of education. His election associates with the College again one of its most honored names; and he will be received with the greatest cordiality by the Faculty, the students, and the alumni.

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The Indeterminate Sentence Law

The recent editorial in The Outlook calling attention to the manner in which the Indeterminate Sentence Law of New York State was being virtually nullified by decisions rendered in the Court of General Sessions of New York City called forth a courteous note of protest from one of the members of this Court, which led us to investigate anew the Court's attitude toward the statute. We are glad to report that while some of the sentences under the new statute were plainly and almost avowedly aimed to make it of no effect, the law is now, as a rule, being interpreted by the judges so as to carry out its obvious intent. The law, it will be recalled, provided that after its passage, when criminals are sentenced to State prison for offenses punishable by a maximum term of five years and a minimum term of one year, the judges should sentence them for an indeterminate period between the statutory maximum and minimum, and permit the prison officials to determine within these narrower limits when the prisoner may wisely be released. The sentences which we quoted in our previous editorial, making the maximum term a single month longer than the minimum term, were apparently intended

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to take the life out of the statute. One of the judges avowed this purpose in explaining some of the sentences, and a former member of the Court advised his successor to pay no attention to the statute; but a reasonable interpretation of the statute seems now to be accepted, if we may judge from the following cases selected at random from recent records:

	Minimum.	Maximum.
Max Hochstein...	1 year....	3 years.
J. T. Hayden.....	1 year....	5 years.
M. Kelly.....	2 years...	3 years 6 mos.
J. Kollenbeck.....	1 year....	1 year 11 mos.
P. Walsh.....	1 year....	1 year 8 mos.

In all or nearly all of these sentences the judges have left to the discretion of the prison officials a material lengthening or shortening of the prisoner's term, according as his behavior in prison, his ability to secure outside employment, and his general fitness to re-enter the ranks of productive labor may seem to warrant. There may well be, and there is, a difference of judgment as to the wisdom of the indeterminate sentence; we have no doubt that it will require for its success a considerable education, not only of public officers, but also of prison officials; but we are firm believers in the principle on which it is based: namely, that punishment should be reformatory, not retributive—that is, it should be primarily adjusted with reference to the transformation of the offender into a safe member of society, not primarily meant to inflict upon him an amount of suffering proportioned to the crime which he has committed.

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A Lutheran View of Sunday

The proposition to open New York City saloons certain hours on Sunday has caused an interesting general discussion, among the contributions to which we note a letter written to the New York "Times" by the Rev. William Dallman, presenting the testimony of conservative Lutherans. Mr. Dallman discusses (1) Sunday, (2) temperance, (3) Sunday opening. Regarding the first he maintains that the law of Moses touching the Sabbath given to the Jews in the Old Testament is not binding on Christians; the real Biblical doctrine of the latter has been taught by the Lutheran Church for nearly four centuries; she says in the Augsburg Confession, "Because it was requisite to appoint a certain day that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the Christian Church did, for that purpose, appoint the Lord's Day; which for this cause also seemed to have been pleasing, that men might have an example of Christian liberty." As to temperance, Mr. Dallman declares that a glass of beer is at least as good as a cup of coffee, and that there is no more "sin" in the one than in the other. "What we need are honest and competent inspectors to protect the public from all kinds of 'embalmed' foods and impure beer as well as impure milk." Concerning the opening of saloons on Sunday, Mr. Dallman says that it is no more a "sin" to drink and to sell a glass of beer on that day than on any other day of the week—it belongs in the sphere of Christian liberty. But the Christian is also a citizen, and as a citizen is interested in the welfare of the city. To Mr. Philbin's statement that the saloons were not frequented by self-respecting workingmen on Sunday, Mr. Dallman replies: "First we make it a crime to go into a saloon on Sunday, and then we profess surprise that the law-abiding citizen does not violate the law." Regarding the law itself, Mr. Dallman's opinion is that "we do not want a minority of the people to use a policeman's club to enforce their prohibition and Sabbatarian views on the majority." Mr. Philbin said that he saw no impropriety in the maintenance of places of amusement where liquor might be sold in places to which a man might take his wife or daughters. Mr. Dallman justly retorts, "That is the only kind of place to be tolerated anywhere on any day of the week."

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Christian Civics

The good example set by the Universalist Young People's Union in organizing its "Christian Citizens' Department"—mentioned in our report of its annual convention last July—has been followed in the Christian Endeavor Society. Good citizenship has been repeatedly referred to in convention addresses as one of the interests to be promoted by Christian Endeavor, but no organization for it has been undertaken till recently. It is now proposed to organize Civic Clubs in connection with the Endeavor Societies wherever existing.

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The design is thus stated in an article of the constitution drafted for such clubs: "The object of the Christian Endeavor Civic Club shall be the promotion of a better citizenship through the study of civic problems, through training in debate and parliamentary practice, and through such active participation in public affairs as may be practicable and proper." A suggestive and stirring little pamphlet on the subject has been issued for general circulation hy the United Society of Christian Endeavor (Boston and Chicago).

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A Religious Building at the St. Louis Fair

The movement to secure a religious building at the St. Louis Fair is being prosecuted by many individuals and churches. Application has been made for a structure to cost about $400,000. In this building will be included exhibits of a religious nature, as many church workers have a sentiment against the distribution of religious exhibits among the various departmental edifices. President Francis, of the St. Louis Fair, is in favor of the proposition, as is Mr. Schroers, Chairman of the Committee on Education. The latter says that the World's Fair of 1903 should be not merely an exhibit of the material triumphs, industrial achievements, and mechanical victories of man. Something higher and nobler is demanded. The Fair should also include a consideration of the foundations of religious faiths, should "review the triumphs of religion in all ages, set forth the present state of religion among the nations, and its influence over literature, art, commerce, government, and family life, indicate its power in promoting social purity and its harmony with true science, show its dominance in the higher institutions of learning, make prominent the value of the weekly rest-day on religious and other grounds, and contribute to those forces which will bring about the unity of the race in the worship of God and the service of man." The membership of the various religious bodies represented on the petition for the building is more than 25,000,000 in the United States alone, and their strength is in the following order: Roman Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Disciples, Jews, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Unitarians.

The National Capital

In March last the United States Senate passed a resolution providing for the preparation of plans looking to the beautification of the city of Washington, and The Outlook presented at the time the outlines of the scheme. The committee having the matter in charge, after consulting with the representatives of the Institute of American Architects, employed Mr. Daniel H. Burnham and Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., as experts. These gentlemen in turn invoked the counsel of Mr. Charles F. McKim and Mr. Augustus St. Gaudens; and the plans of what is known as the Burnham Commission are now on exhibition in the form of twenty-seven models at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington. In the original plan of the city of Washington, which was prepared under the supervision of Washington and Jefferson, M. L'Enfant, an engineer of ability and a man of great taste and education, acted as expert adviser and landscape architect. Jefferson was especially interested in the scheme of making the capital of the Nation in all respects a National capital, and, from his large knowledge of such matters and his ample library, was able to furnish L'Enfant plans of many representative cities. The original scheme involved the development of the city with respect to reciprocal relations of the Capitol and the White House, which were to be the foci of a harmonious treatment of the city as a whole, and to be a work of art, with sites for monuments and museums, parks, fountains, canals, and with vistas which should open all parts of the city up to view. These plans were not carried out, for various reasons; but, fortunately, the conditions are such as to make their realization in essential particulars possible; and the Burnham Commission has submitted designs which, if carried out, will make Washington the most beautiful city in the world.

The new plan provides for the developing of a Mall and for the treatment of all the streets south of Pennsylvania Avenue, between the Capitol and the White House, as forming a park-like connection between the Capitol and the White House, the space serving as a setting for these two significant public

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buildings. The Commission proposes to open a vista which will bring the Monument within range; and, standing on the western terrace, the spectator will look across a park to the Monument rising in the distance. Shaded walks and driveways will provide free access from east to west, the streets continuing on the surface-level from north to south. The distance from the Capitol to the Monument is about one and a half miles, and nearly a mile has been added to the width of the open space by the reclamation of the river flats. In this way the broadest opportunity is given for a really noble treatment of the entire strip of territory between the Capitol and the Monument. The scheme is too elaborate to be outlined in this place. It involves a very beautiful garden directly west of the Monument, surrounded by a terrace, with room for playgrounds and out-of-door sports of all kinds, a driveway to the Potomac, a memorial bridge leading to Arlington, and an embankment which shall provide for a driveway to the mouth of Rock Creek. An elaborate park system will carry the park effect in various directions and provide the most extensive drives and walks. The new public buildings will be located according to a general plan and in harmony with the following rules:

First, that only public buildings should face the grounds of the Capitol.

Second, that new Department buildings may well be located so as to face Lafayette Square, which is opposite the White House.

Third, that buildings of a semi-public character may be located south of the present Corcoran Art Gallery, fronting on the White Lot and extending to the park limits.

Fourth, that the northern side of the Mall may properly be used by museum and other buildings containing collections in which the public is generally interested, but not by Department buildings.

Fifth, that the space between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall should be occupied by the District building, the Hall of Records, a modern market, an armory for the District militia, and structures of like character.

Special prominence will be given to fountains and paths. If this scheme is carried out as it ought to be, the Nation will not only express the greatness and richness of its life in its capital city, but it will give an impulse to the development of beauty in towns and cities all over the United States.

The Charities in New York State

A year ago the one proposal in Governor Odell's message which called forth general and increasing opposition was that the work of the non-partisan, unsalaried State Board of Charities should be transferred to a salaried State superintendent. So overwhelming did the opposition to this proposal become when the public had time to consider it that the bill embodying it had to be withdrawn from the consideration of the Legislature. This single marked defeat which the Governor sustained last year did not, however, change his attitude toward the matter in question. This year, while apparently accepting the retention of the State Board of Charities, he proposes to carry through the substance of his former project. He has recommended that the local Boards of Managers in charge of the different State hospitals for the insane and State charitable institutions be abolished, and their vital powers be transferred to the State Commission of Lunacy in the case of the hospitals, and to a State Superintendent in the case of the charitable institutions.

The arguments in favor of the change can only be briefly summarized here. It is claimed that the present method of administering the charities of the State is unbusinesslike; that it prevents uniformity of action, economy of administration, and real practical responsibility; that the cost and character of the buildings has often depended on the ingenuity and skill of local administrators; that local pride has led to useless architectural display; that the cost of maintenance varies much more than it ought to vary; that in many cases the local boards are not informed respecting the institutions under their immediate supervision; that the local superintendents, being under no practical and central authority, have been at times extravagant in their expenditures; that inaccessible sites have been selected for buildings; and that local favoritism has affected the administration of local asylums. Against the charge that the effect if not the object of the change would be to build up the political power of the Governor and of the party in control, it is replied that no one in the Governor's

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chair ever has endeavored, and no one would be likely to endeavor, to advance himself politically at the expense of the comfort or well-being of the wards of the State, and that in fact the present system could be as easily worked for political ends as the one which the Governor proposes as a substitute. The principle involved in his recommendation may be fairly summarized in the following words: that there should be a central control in the hands of those directly charged by the people with responsibility, and that the Governor, whose record must come before the people, should through his appointees exercise a measure of control over the management of the State institutions and the expenditure of the State's money. Apparently the utmost concession which he thinks it desirable to make to the present method of State charity is contained in his suggestion that the State Superintendent, whose salary is to be $5,000 a year, shall be recommended by the State Board of Charities subject to his own approval; but the apparent power thus offered to the State Board is not one which it wishes to accept.

This Board, in common with apparently the whole body of non-partisan philanthropists interested in our State charities, opposes the Governor's recommendations. In reply to the Governor's criticisms on the present methods of management, a chief one being the costliness of the care of the insane, and the employment of great buildings instead of small cottages for the housing of the patients, the Board of Managers of the State Charities Aid Association have issued a singularly complete reply, showing that the cost of caring for the insane is now much less than under the old system ($167 per capita in 1901 as against $216 in 1893), and that the only reason why the managers have not more generally required the substitution of small cottages for great asylums is that the cottage system is the more expensive as well as the better. Already, it is urged, the State has gone quite far enough in making economy instead of efficiency the test of successful administration.

But neither economy nor efficiency necessitates the abolition of all local boards and the concentration of all power in one State Commission in the case of the lunatic asylums and one salaried superintendent in the case of the charitable institutions. What is needed in such a work as the charitable work of the State is centralized supervision and responsibility, with local administration and interest. And it appears to us that far better than the abolition of all local authorities would be their federation in a central body, which would both represent them and, by supervising and directing their work, would guard against the evils of which the Governor complains. The evils of handing over the charitable work of the State to any form of mere salaried officialdom would be of a different kind, but quite as serious. Even if the abolition of the local boards and the transfer of their powers to a bureau at Albany should result in increased economy, the saving would be dearly purchased if it stifled local interest and checked unsalaried service. What is needed both for the good of the asylums and the good of the commonwealth is the widest possible development of a public-spirited interest in the conduct of State institutions coupled with a wise centralized supervision over them.

Moreover, we think the danger that the State institutions might become a political machine under a purely centralized administration is not imaginary. From the standpoint of the strong personality who sits in the Governor's chair there is indeed much that is attractive in the plan which would give the Governor complete control over institutions expending more than $5,000,000 of public money yearly; but the citizenship of the State, regardless of party lines, will dread such a concentration of powers in the hands of the executive head of either party. Whatever provision may be made for a more centralized supervision—and we are inclined to believe that such provision is needed—the present local boards should be retained, not only as a means of keeping alive local, popular, and unpaid interest, but also because their supervision is non-partisan as that of a bureau at Albany would not be, constant as that of a bureau at Albany would not be, and public-spirited as that of a salaried bureau is not likely to be. Certainly action of so radical a nature on so serious a matter, on which differences of opinion among earnest, philanthropic, public-spirited citizens are

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so manifest, ought not be taken in haste, very likely only to be repented at leisure.

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Better than Socialism

Dear Sir: I have just finished reading your article on Industrial Democracy first published in the "Forum," 1890, and just republished in a late magazine. I would like to read an article by you on the same subject viewed in the light of more recent events in the industrial world. The wealth of this country is being rapidly concentrated into the hands of the very few, and our great middle classes are becoming the poor classes; the invention of machinery has not inured to the benefit of the working classes, but has just made them a part of the machinery. What *right* is there in the present system, that prevents any man from having the wealth that he produces, but gives one-half or two-thirds of it to some one who does no work? Certainly the oil was not created for the benefit of the Standard Oil Company, or the coal for the private benefit of any man or any set of men, but for all mankind equally. What remedy is there for the present unjust and unrighteous conditions except Socialism, whose principles are the collective and co-operative ownership of all the means of production and distribution? Surely the application of what Jesus Christ taught to our industrial and economic world would be Socialism, and justice, and righteousness. Surely the American Nation is at the turning-point, either going on to the further concentration of wealth in the hands of the very, very few, with the balance working for them, or calling halt, putting in operation a system of justice, brotherhood, righteousness, and Christian principles. We must look to the *Christian* minister to sound the alarm.

C. R.

There is much truth in your letter; but it is not all the truth. In order to get a proper understanding of the subject there are some other aspects of present conditions which you need to consider. The following are some of these other aspects:

I. There is too great a concentration of wealth; but it is less than it is in any other country, and if you take a long look you will see it to be decreasing, not increasing. This is shown by the following facts: *First fact.* In the first century in Rome one-tenth of the people owned all the wealth, the nine-tenths were "submerged;" in the twentieth century of the United States the wealth is distributed, though unequally, among nine-tenths, and less than one-tenth is submerged. *Second fact.* Nearly one-half the families in the United States own the real estate they occupy. Nowhere else and never before was the land of any country so distributed. *Third fact.* This distribution of land is increasing. The great plantations of the South are being broken up into small holdings, and negroes in large numbers are becoming landowners; the great ranches in the West are being broken up and smaller farms are taking their place. *Fourth fact.* The deposits in the savings banks in the United States amount to $2,500,000,000, and while they are by no means all owned by the wage-earning and salary-earning class, a very large proportion of them are so owned. *Fifth fact.* The concentrated wealth is held to a great extent by corporations; and the corporations are composed in considerable measure of small stockholders whose wealth is combined for the convenience and advantage of co-operation. *Sixth fact.* Wages and salaries have increased in the last twenty-five years; interest has decreased. Wages and salaries are labor's share of the profits, interest is capital's share of the profits. Capital is getting less, labor is getting more, than formerly, though, from a variety of circumstances, it is difficult to state the exact ratio.

II. You are right, in our opinion, in thinking that coal, oil, copper, gold, silver, iron, forest trees—in a word, the natural products of the soil—ought to belong to the community, not to a few favored individuals in the community. So ought the franchises created by the people and involving special privileges. But to realize this it is not necessary to try the experiment of a common ownership and a political administration. A much simpler method is to levy on all land values and on all special franchises such taxes as will give the community the value in income of the natural, the God-given, wealth, and leave to the men whose inventive skill, executive ability, and manual labor make these natural products valuable to the community the full value which by their brains and muscle they create.

III. The fatal objection to State Socialism is that it barters individual freedom for supposed physical comfort, and that is always and by necessity a bad bargain. If the State owns all the tools and implements of industry, and directs all the laborers and all the labor, giving to every man according to his need and requiring of every man according to his ability, no man will be free to choose his own voca-

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tion; every man will have to do the work which is assigned to him, and to accept the wages which are allotted to him. In place of a variety of industrial monopolies we should have one great monopoly; in lieu of commercial bosses we should have political bosses; in lieu of industrial liberty, with some industrial servitude which is gradually disappearing, we should have a systematized and highly organized industrial servitude with little or no industrial liberty.

IV. Political and industrial progress is in fact moving along the line indicated in paragraph II. above. The people are beginning to own and operate "natural monopolies"—that is, those industries in which free competition is in the nature of the case impossible, from municipal railroads, gas-works, and water-works to the Isthmian Canal. We are beginning to bring other monopolies, as the great inter-State railways, under government control. We are beginning, as in Indiana, New York State, and Michigan, to tax the franchises at something approximating their real value. The next step will be to put a larger tax on the products of the soil estimated at their natural value. The road toward industrial liberty and industrial betterment, with a still larger distribution of wealth, is the road along which humanity has been slowly but steadily advancing since the day when one-tenth of the people in Rome legally owned five-tenths of the people, who were slaves, and practically owned four-tenths more, who were helpless dependents, and substantially all the material wealth of the Empire. Nothing will be gained by abandoning all the progress which has thus far been made, and endeavoring to reach our industrial millennium by the method which has often been tried on a smaller scale and never with success.

If you are interested in getting all the light you can on this subject, do not throw this article down with a pshaw! because it reaches a conclusion you do not like. On the contrary, re-read it with care; take up the separate propositions which it contains and consider each one separately; reflect carefully upon each proposition, and see, first, if it be not true, and, second, if it is true, what is its significance. If you wish to know more fully the views of the author of "Industrial Democracy," read "Christianity and Social Problems," by the same author; then, if you wish to study the subject somewhat further, get out of the nearest library and read with care the following books, written by industrial reformers who desire to see a better distribution of wealth, but who are not State Socialists: John Rae's "Contemporary Socialism," Benjamin Kidd's "Social Evolution," E. de Laveleye's "Primitive Property," R. T. Ely's "Socialism and Social Reform." In the volume last named you will find a bibliography of works on all sides of nearly all phases of the subject in hand. We believe that your inquiries will not lessen your loyalty to the aims of Socialism, but may lead you to recognize that these aims may be sought along the lines of individual responsibility for individual welfare as well as along the lines of collective responsibility for public welfare.

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The Simple Life

There are few more inspiring personalities in France to-day than Charles Wagner, the Protestant pastor, who, with M. Desjardins and other men of the same noble quality, is preaching the gospel of a clean, wholesome, natural, simple life to a people many of whom have lost touch with the simple, natural, wholesome things of life. An Alsatian by birth, from the hill country; a son, grandson, and great-grandson of faithful pastors; educated at the Sorbonne and at the University of Strasburg; qualified to enter into the doubts and difficulties which beset the earnest seeker after religious truth in these days by a storm-and-stress experience of his own, which reached its crisis at the very hour when France was in a life-and-death struggle with Germany, M. Wagner has discarded much of the theology which he acquired in his theological courses, and regained the simple, beautiful, effective faith of his childhood. There is in him a childlike quality which, in the sophisticated France of to-day, is of the first importance.

His gospel is a simple one. It is a gospel of health in a community of people many of whom have become the victims of disease; it is the gospel of a simple life to a multitude who have lost all power of enjoying simple things; it is

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a gospel of plain duty to a multitude who have lost their grasp upon those things which lie close at hand, and who are seeking happiness afar instead of discerning that happiness is to be found only at home. The Union for Moral Action, of which M. Wagner is a leading spirit, has been called "A Militant Order for Private and Social Duty." What these earnest men feel is that France needs to-day, not new ideas, new skills, the discovery of new paths of national progress, but a return to old, wholesome, simple ways of life. The titles of the books of this group of men are significant of their general attitude: "Youth," "Justice," "Present Duty." The latest of these volumes, which is from the hands of Wagner himself, bears the significant title "The Simple Life," and the imprint of Messrs. McClure, Phillips & Co., of this city. It is a book sorely needed in France, and written primarily for Frenchmen; but it contains a message for Americans as well. Our temptations are different from those which beset the French; but we need as deeply as they the gospel of a simple life; and it has rarely been preached with greater directness than by this clear-minded and large-hearted Parisian pastor. That such a book should come out of Paris seems quite as miraculous as would the gushing of a limpid stream, fresh and clear, running down one of the boulevards. It is in such a community, however, that such a book is most likely to be born. M. Wagner says: "As the fevered patient devoured by thirst dreams in his sleep of clear brooks to bathe in, of cool fountains to drink long draughts from, so in the complicated agitations of modern existence our fevered souls dream of simplicity."

It is one of the prime characteristics of this eminently practical and clear-sighted man that in preaching a gospel of idealism he always emphasizes practical methods. He is essentially a man of action; and what he asks people to do is always within the compass of their possibilities. In begging men and women to live the simple life he does not propose to them to throw aside the advantages of modern life, to reject its marvelous resources, to eliminate its manifold services to man's needs. On the contrary, he proposes to utilize all the marvelous resources which modern life has invented, developed, and collected, by unfolding a power of right selection, by increasing, at the heart of all things, the force and vitality of the man. Simplicity, he reminds us, is not a matter of conditions, and to be simple does not mean to make one's self poor. No vow of poverty is to be imposed as a means of living the simple life. Some of the richest men in the world, and some of the most highly placed, are among the simplest; some of the poorest men in the world—beggars, tramps, the profligate—are haters of simplicity, and dream only of idleness and pleasure, and of acquiring these things by complicated and ingenious rather than by direct methods. No class has any exclusive possession of simplicity; no dress is its badge; it dwells as often in palaces as in garrets.

The root of the whole matter lies in the statement that "simplicity is a state of mind." It may co-exist, and it often does co-exist, with the largest command of all the resources of life. Those who hold the strongest social positions, and have long held them, are more likely to be simple in their tastes and manners than those who are just beginning to climb the social ladder. Simplicity lies in the dominant purpose of our lives. "A man is simple when his chief care is the wish to be what he ought to be—that is, honestly and naturally human;" and men and women lose simplicity chiefly by confusing the secondary with the primary things; by substituting the machinery of life for the force of life; by putting things in place of ideas and principles; by attempting to find pleasure, not in the keenness of the senses, but in the multiplicity of objects which are offered to them. In this country, where a host of people are rapidly changing their ways of living and elaborating the machinery of living on all sides, there is an immense waste of energy through the failure to understand that every additional piece of machinery involves the putting forth of so much additional power; that the capacity for enjoyment is never in things, but always in freshness of feeling, and that happiness is to be found, not in multiplicity of possessions, but in having those things which one needs. American society is full of men and women who are loaded down with things which are of no possible use

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to them. Their houses are overcrowded with rich and heavy furnishings which betray no individuality of taste and afford no index to the character of the persons who possess them. They are often overcrowded with servants, so that that which ought to bring relief from care and work increases responsibility and anxiety. Hosts of men and women are living in houses several times too large for their comfort, for their power of organization, or for tastefulness and good sense. Everything runs to elaboration, to the piling up of things; and every bit of elaboration is gained at the expense of freedom and simplicity. In this general loading up with luggage of every kind, even those who are intent upon learning all they can on the journey of life and getting all they can out of it are in danger of falling into line and wasting time and strength on the things that encumber rather than the things that liberate.

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At the End of the Journey

She had come a long way, and the fatigue of the journey was on her face and the stains of it on her garments. She walked slowly and painfully, and in her uncertain step there was the record of leagues of travel. She had forgotten many hardships, for memory often sleeps in order that the spirit whose record it keeps may regain lost strength and refill the depleted lamp of life; but she remembered many bitter griefs, and the hand of sorrow had left a visible impress on her countenance. And the way had long been lonely as well as sorrowful; for they who set out with her had vanished from her side, and she had gone on in solitude that seemed to deepen about her. Far behind, as she traveled on, was the glow of the morning light, once gloriously glad over the whole earth, now faint and distant as the light of a sun that has long set. And after the morning passed there had come midday with its heat, its far-reaching activities, its strenuous energy, its deepening experience; and after noontide, evening; and so long had she traveled in the darkness, the little group about her silently stealing away one by one from her side, that it seemed to her as if it had always been night and she had always been alone. Of late she had lost the feeling of motion, although she was conscious that the landscape about her was changing.

She had set out with a high spirit and with a deep sense of joy in action and movement and life; but years and sorrows had saddened her, and she had come to think of herself not only as weary and alone, but old. There was bitterness in the thought because it seemed a denial of her nature. In youth the fountain of life in her soul had seemed inexhaustible; and in later years, when the rare times of rest from grief and travel came, it had leaped up and sent a gush of joy to her heart. But now, for a long time, there had been no stir of the waters, and age had touched all that she possessed; and so, traveling slowly and painfully with set purpose but with fading hope, she came one dark night to the gate which closes the road. She knocked feebly and the gate swung wide on noiseless hinges. No one stood beside it, for it marked neither end nor beginning of journey, and the road ran straight through it unbroken and unchanged, save that a soft light rested on it and in the air there was infinite content. No landscape was visible for the mist that lay over it, and no sounds were heard; but when one passed through, he knew without knowing that nature bloomed there with a fulfilled loveliness, and he heard without hearing the songs of birds which are never hushed by wintry skies. The woman rested within the gate, and as she rested she was conscious of no change in herself, but the raiment which she had worn thin and bare fell away and vanished, and she saw that the fading and fraying and wearing away had despoiled only her garments and left her untouched; and as she rested, the lines vanished from her face and the pain from her limbs, and silently the fountain rose once more. The stains of travel were gone, the signs of age had vanished; once more young, but with a wisdom beyond youth, she started with buoyant step and with a rising hope in her heart; for through the soft mist beautiful forms seemed to be moving, and faint and far she heard voices that seemed to come out of her childhood, fresh with the freshness of the morning, and her spirit grew faint for joy at the sound of them.

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The Indians' Last Stand

By Charles Moreau Harger

IN a large brick building in the central portion of the city of Muscogee, one of the principal towns of the Indian Territory, is in progress the Nation's solution of the Red Man's destiny. In luxurious offices, furnished with taste and beauty, the Indian Commission is slowly working out the problem of making a citizen of the savage. The very details of the proceeding may be seen by the passer-by. In a room on the ground floor, occupied by clerks and interpreters, is the work in its most interesting phase.

In from the street slouches an Indian family—father, mother, and several children. They are dressed in evident imitation of the white man's custom, but the conglomeration of colors and fabrics suggests the wiles of a shrewd frontier salesman. The women and some of the men carry bright-hued shawls that are remnants of days when the possessors were the architects of their own fortunes. They sit for an hour, perhaps, awaiting their turn, but there is no indication of impatience. One day is as good as another to an Indian. Deliberately the work proceeds as the rolls of residents are compared and the land that the family desires is outlined and the conflicting claims investigated.

It is a part of the settlement of a vast estate, and the final act in the Indian policy that, little by little, has turned over the hunting-grounds of the West to white settlers. It is not so much a tragedy as it is an evolution, a step in the march of civilization. The process has been going on for three years, yet it is little understood. Now that it is nearing completion, and the white man is to have an opportunity to acquire property rights, much inquiry is made concerning the conditions upon which this may be done. The recent opening of Oklahoma lands has spread abroad a belief in another "race" or "drawing"—but this opening is to be far more businesslike in plan than any that have preceded, and the prizes are not to be given for the asking.

In the disposition of the Indians during the past fifty years the tendency has been to consolidate the tribes' holdings. Of all the lands given to the red men those of the Indian Territory were the best and were donated in the most favorable form. To the five civilized tribes—Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, Seminoles, and Chickasaws—was set apart a domain which they governed with all due forms and ceremonies, and which was to be theirs so long "as grass grows and water runs." The territory embraces 19,776,000 acres, equal in size to the State of Maine or South Carolina, and for the past quarter of a century has been the center around which the eager current of Western development has whirled. The lands of Oklahoma to the west have been given, section after section, to the white man, until now the Indian has no more abiding-place except on some small reservations. Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas surround the five Indian Nations on the south, east, and north.

Over this domain, which has the form of a reversed L, each tribe with its own portion, each with executive and legislative machinery, the Indians have ruled. They have been self-governing, of course subject to approval of the United States Government, and have in many ways made records far better than was to be expected from savages of the native stock. For instance, the Chickasaws have five colleges with 400 students, upon which $47,000 is spent annually; also thirteen district schools costing $16,000 annually. The Choctaws have 150 schools, in some of which the higher branches are taught. The Seminoles, the smallest of the tribes, have two schools. The Creeks have ten colleges and sixty-five common schools with 2,500 pupils, the whole costing $90,000 annually.

Originally inhabited by full-bloods, the character of the Territory population has been steadily changing, until it is to-day peculiarly constituted. When the original treaty was made, in 1830, the Choctaws lived in Mississippi and were slaveholders. The Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws have also held negro slaves, and when all these slaves became free they were adjudged by the Government to have equal

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tribal rights with their former masters. They are known as "freedmen." Thousands of white men, attracted in many instances by the per capita wealth of the tribe members, have married Indian women and become "squaw-men," with a voice, in some of the tribes, in the management of affairs and a right to a portion of the income and possessions. Intermarriages have also occurred between the negroes and Indians, and among all the gradations of blood of the three classes, until the full-blood Indians are much in the minority, and the tribal affairs are in the hands of the newer generation. The old régime of the "blanket" Indian has long passed away. In the Creek Nation there are about sixteen thousand Indians, but only five thousand are full-bloods.

With the advancing years the new generation became dissatisfied with the community ownership and the tribal leasing of lands to the cattlemen and others. They longed for individual possession and an equal footing with the tens of thousands of white men who were immigrating from the Eastern States. Indeed, of the total population of 400,000 now in the Territory, only 84,750 are of Indian blood. The remainder are whites, holding their lands under leases or agreements and developing the country on the promise of future ownership. The Indians may be roughly estimated thus:

Cherokees	30,000
Cherokee freedmen	4,000
Delawares[1]	1,000
Creeks	10,000
Creek freedmen	6,000
Choctaws	16,000
Choctaw freedmen	4,250
Seminoles	3,000
Chickasaws	6,000
Chickasaw freedmen	4,500
Total	84,750

An act of Congress, June 28, 1898, ratified in an amended form the agreement made by the Indian Commission with the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the preceding year, and with the Creeks a few months later, to become effective if ratified by a majority of these tribes at a tribal election. The Choctaws voted for the plan, and the votes counted at Atoka showed a majority of 798 for it. The proclamation of this action is known as the "Atoka agreement," in full force in the tribe named. The other tribes later came under a similar plan, and since that time the work of distributing the lands has been in progress.

The plan is a simple one; it contemplates merely the division of the lands occupied by Indians equally among members of the tribes—not the same number of acres to each, but the same value in land for every one justly entitled to a share. This involved five processes: a careful survey of the thirty-one thousand square miles comprised in the lands, an appraisal of the value of every section, an enumeration of the tribe members, the allotment and the distribution of the property. The first has been completed; the second practically so; the third is in process now and is nearly finished as to the Creeks, which tribe also has its allotments well under way. A few more months will dispose of the Creek lands; the other tribes' affairs will not be settled up for several years, the end of it all not coming for probably a decade.

The most puzzling question before the Commission is that of inheritance. Here is a vast estate to be divided among the rightful heirs. Who are they? In general, the right to enrollment as citizens of one of the Five Tribes is derived from one of six primary sources:

1. Inheritance of Indian blood coupled with long residence and recognition as a member of the tribe.
2. Treaty stipulations, as with the freedmen.
3. Admission to citizenship by the Commission or by the courts.
4. Adoption by act of national (tribal) council.
5. Admission by tribal court or on appeal by the United States court.
6. Intermarriage (limited).

To determine who come within these lines the Commission makes a roll descriptive of each member applying for citizenship. As early as possible dates are set after which no more names may be added. The desire to acquire land by non-citizens has caused many marriages, while the knowledge that each addition to the family means an additional portion, varying from five hundred acres in the Choctaw and Chickasaw

[1] The Delawares moved into the Cherokee lands in 1857, coming from Kansas, under an agreement as to rights the exact purport of which is to be determined by the courts.

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Nations to one hundred and twenty in the Cherokee nation, increases the birth-rate among the more degenerate classes. According to the treaty of 1830, whenever a Choctaw from Mississippi enters the Indian Territory he at once becomes a full-fledged member of the tribe in his new location, entitled to the same rights as the older members. To ascertain how many of the Mississippi Choctaws intend to take lands thus, the Commission opened an office in that State last spring. This delays the determination of the number among whom the land is to be divided, and is only one of the many problems that confront the Commissioners.

A certain conservative or "blanket" element of the Indians is opposed to the change. Chief Isparhecker of the Creeks is one of these. Naturally this element throws every possible obstacle in the way of the allotment. However, the work is progressing steadily, and it is but a matter of time when the Indian will be on an equal footing with the whites as to land-ownership.

As yet the Indians are the sole possessors. The entire government, the councils and the executive, are theirs. One-fifth of the residents of the Territory are rulers—four-fifths are without voice or initiative. The change will come in this way: The varying agreements have in common a provision for the sale of the lands by the Indians under certain conditions. The Creeks, who get an average of one hundred and sixty acres of land worth $6.50 per acre each, and who are first to receive deeds, may, after obtaining title, sell one hundred and twenty acres. The remaining forty acres cannot be transferred for twenty years. Other tribes that receive approximately five hundred acres per capita may, when the deeds are delivered, sell all but one hundred and sixty acres, which is to be held twenty years, in portions, one-third each after one, three, and five years. The Indian's homestead is non-taxable, and in addition to the lands the money obtained from the town-site sales and coal leases is distributed equally. The average wealth of the Choctaws, for instance, will be not far from $5,000. With every member of a family thus favored the future ought not to contain much hardship.

A magnificent empire awaits the white settler. It will not be given to him. He may buy it piecemeal from the Indians, but eventually he will get it. Thousands of farmers all over the Middle States are anxious to enter on the Territory lands, and do not understand why they are discouraged by the real estate agents of the towns. There can be no transferring of lands, no titles given nor alienation of property, until the Indians receive their deeds. Then the rush will begin. The land is as fair and rich as any the Nation possesses, accessible to market, and not far from the tide-water of the Gulf ports.

Lying in the latitude of Tennessee and northern Mississippi, it combines the advantages of two zones. Corn and wheat thrive, and cattle g ow fat on the succulent pastures; likewise cotton blooms with a degree of quality and abundance of yield that make this a staple of the farm. Great fields whiten in the autumn sun, and every town has its gin. Last year's crop was 288,000 bales, leading several of the Southern States, and this season's yield will, with an increased acreage, though perhaps not so large a production per acre, be fully 300,000 bales. Heretofore the Government has usually grouped the Territory with "other producing localities," but the amount of cotton sent to market is making it important enough to receive more consideration. The farming lands are exceedingly fertile and well watered. All over the Territory are streams, timber, rolling lands, and, here and there, a wide valley. Some of the land has been tilled by the Indians or freedmen and lessees for sixty years, and in its fertility to-day is seen no lessening power. While the soil of Oklahoma is in a large portion red, here it includes also a black loam, with some rocky ground on the hilly sections. Minerals are found more abundantly than in any of the newer prairie States. The coal deposits in the south-central portion are among the richest in the West. Under leases, the money going to the Indians' treasury, scores of mines are being operated. The South McAlester coal region shipped last year 2,250,000 tons, and the product increases. Railroads are pushing in every direction, and new towns are being established along their routes. Three main lines—the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas and the "Frisco"

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north and south, and the Choctaw line east and west—already serve the Territory. At the rate at which branch lines are being built there will inside of a year be a network of iron rails sufficient to give the most remote portions of the Territory good service. Timber and cattle are among the riches of the Indian lands, and there is in the abundant rainfall which, as in Missouri and eastern Kansas, makes crop failure an infrequent occurrence, an assurance of solidity and permanency very attractive to the farmer and stockman. It is little wonder that thousands are waiting eagerly until the Indians can give a title to the lands, when purchase can be made. No such agricultural region has been opened for thirty years. The Oklahoma lands are not comparable for worth, because they reach out toward the dry belt and have far greater susceptibility to crop failure. Where are now the log cabins of the Indians and negroes and the rough shacks of the cattlemen will in a few years be the pleasant homes of prosperous farmers and their families.

But where are all the 375,000 whites, do you ask? In the towns. Herein is one of the most curious situations obtaining in the Nation. In the history of the town is the story of the end of the Indian's "dependent sovereignty." It is the old tale: on the open plain he was a king; in the marts of trade he was a child. The opening wedge for the whites' invasion was when they pastured his lands with their herds. "The pasture law was a jump half-way, and the other half was sure to come; I told them so," remarked an intelligent half-breed in discussing it. From using the land under lease to running the stores at the little towns, and finally mining the coal and doing the business for the Indians, was a natural evolution. The intrusion came so stealthily that even the full-bloods themselves did not realize it. When they did wake up, it was too late—the spirit of progress had entered the veins of the younger men, and they sought an equal opportunity with the strangers within their gates. Through them and because of their attitude came the agreement that the lands should be given in severalty.

Where there seemed to be need, the Government has set apart town-sites, giving the Indians compensation for the use of the land. The lands were "scheduled" to those who might wish them, a limited amount being allowed to a single owner, and there was a promise that when the title was finally passed from the tribes the possessor should have the first right to buy the lots at an appraised value that should not include any added amount because of the improvements made. On this basis grew the towns. With only this promise for a title, blocks costing $200,000 have been built, and the streets of the principal towns are lined with handsome structures. The white men rule the towns, having their municipal government and levying taxes up to a certain limit for necessary expenses. The approaching settlement of the lands has caused a rapid growth of the towns, and no place in the West is so marked by these improvements as the Territory. South McAlester recently had its settlement, and about thirty-five hundred lots which had not been occupied were sold at auction. Deeds to these as well as to the occupied lots followed, the latter being paid for at a ridiculously low appraisement. Frequently there have been several transfers of rights, but it is all regular, and the deeds are perfect patents from the United States.

Side by side with the division of the lands is going on the deeding of the town-sites, so that when the end comes the Indians will have all the land, or its value, within their tribes' old boundaries given to them, without the defection of any portion. At present towns are hampered by regulations that prevent bond-issuing except by permission of the Interior Department, and many public enterprises that mark other similar cities of the West are restricted. That will all pass away with the withdrawal of the Government from the management of the Indians' affairs. The sales of lots will add greatly to the tribal funds, the one at South McAlester alone netting about $175,000.

From the coal-mines there is a large revenue, and the ranchers of the Southwest pay heavily for the privilege of placing their herds on the rich grasses of the unbroken tribal lands. The cattleman is opposed to openings of any kind. He grows rich off the Indians' need. For a song he has been able to obtain pasture

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on land that was meant to produce sixty bushels of corn or a bale of cotton to every acre. The farmer—the Man with a Plow—has demanded better use of the soil, and to him is to come the inheritance. But when you hear of a contest and an injunction to prevent the opening of Indian lands, do not weep for the redskin. Some cattle association or some enterprising rancher usually is behind it.

Nor is there need for deep sympathy for the Indians of the five tribes who are to be compelled to assume some of the responsibilities of the business world. With the larger portion of the old generation little change will come. They will hunt and fish, loaf and smoke, as usual. With larger aggregate wealth than is possessed by any ciass of people on the continent, they will be content. For those who wish to progress—and there are many such—opportunity will be offered and accepted. For those who are shiftless—and this class is full to overflowing—the same old chance will remain. Nearly all will sell the land as fast as possible. Farms will sell for $10 an acre that in ten years will be worth $50. The Indians will lease all they cannot sell, and, on the proceeds of lease and deed, take life easy.

Before some there lies a dream of taking the tribal funds and purchasing great tracts in northern Mexico, there to hunt and fish, as of old. Several committees have looked over Mexico's offerings and claim to have a following of several thousand from the various tribes who will make the exodus. They are mostly the full-bloods, among whom there is less sympathy with the new régime. But this project will prove chimerical for the larger portion of the tribe members. The hunting and fishing days of the red man have passed away, as the days of warfare and massacre departed a third of a century ago. The best that the Government can do for him is to make him useful, stop his genteel loafing, and put him to work.

"I have seen," said one of the appraising committee members, "men cutting wheat with a sickle, thrashing it with flails or tramping it out of the head; also women in the backwoods grinding corn in pestles and cooking corn without salt. Forty miles away was a farm with a single field of eight hundred acres of oats, and land that produced $53 worth of cotton per acre. It was the difference between yesterday and to-day. A former chief of the Choctaws, owning six hundred acres of land worth $25 an acre, was working in a grocery-store, and white men who had married Indian women were enjoying bank accounts amounting to tens of thousands of dollars. The whites who have drifted in from the poorer regions of Arkansas and Missouri are worth less than any of the Indians. It is a land of contraries and of surprises."

The attitude of the Indians toward the change in their conditions is not altogether favorable. The younger generations seem to welcome the coming of the time when they can buy and sell, but the older members of the tribes are regretful. Looked at from their point of view, the Government is doing them a mighty wrong. Here were the lands which they accepted on the distinct agreement that they were to be the possessors for all time, and to obtain which they gave up their other possessions and rights. When the proposal to divide the lands was first made, it was received with scorn, but the United States knows how to deal with the Indian. There ensued a long process of palaver—the red man dearly loves palaver—and trips to Washington by leading men of the tribes placed missionaries among the settlements who spread the knowledge of the white man's power. The lessees edged into the land, tilling some of it on the easily remembered formula, "one-third corn and one-fourth cotton." The pasture-lands were used by the cattle of the whites, and the towns grew to proportions that astonished the tribes.

Insidiously the way was thus prepared, and before the Indians were aware of it they had imbibed something of the Western feeling that it was not good that so rich a domain should remain practically idle. Some of the tribes have been slow in coming to the agreement, and several times the work of enrollment and allotment has been stopped by injunctions; but it has started again and the end is not far off. Once in possession of their own land, the Indians will be called upon to do more thinking in a business way than in all their history since the beginning of the world. Whether the result will be successful, or whether there will be a

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gradual elimination of the red man from the West, remains to be seen. The accomplishments of the five tribes have, however, given reason to believe that the Indians will be able to care for themselves as well as do some whites.

A positive and earnest demand for State or Territorial government is manifested by the white population. At present the whites are mere tenants in the Indians' country. With the obtaining of property rights will come self-government. It is true that they are protected by the Federal courts and police. The sale of liquor, for instance, is prohibited better than it is in Kansas or Maine. But they ask for citizenship's privileges. Four plans are favored in the order of their attractiveness to the dwellers of the Territory: Statehood independent of Oklahoma; a Territorial form of government with a hope of Statehood later, also independent of Oklahoma; the making of Oklahoma a State, with the Territory as five large counties attached for the present, to be a State later; a single State along with Oklahoma.

Conventions are being held and high hopes are entertained for the success of one of these plans. Oklahoma will not wait long. Either it or the Indian Territory has more population than Delaware, Idaho, Rhode Island, Oregon, South Dakota or North Dakota, and almost as much as Florida or Colorado. Together they would make a magnificent domain, rich in every gift of the soil, varied in woodland, prairie, and mountain, an empire capable of ranking in wealth and power among the first of the commonwealths. Settled by the eager, pushing elements of the younger generations, the impetuosity of the Oklahoman tempered by the greater conservatism of the eastern portion (for the two sections, from the nature of their settlement, vary in tendency much as do Kansas and Missouri), they would form a glorious union. In the opinion of the thoughtful men of both sections one State is enough, and eventually such doubtless will be their destiny.

Meanwhile the Indian is passing into the every-day world. He is leaving romance and becoming practical. He is getting the benefit of civilization—and it is high time. He is better off than ever before, and if he has manhood he will now show it; if he has it not, the world owes him nothing. It is his last stand. The plow is entering his last hunting-ground.

A Visit to Herr Krupp

By Edward A. Steiner

FROM the lowlands of Germany one turns with relief to the western hills, into which the Porta Westphalia opens a hospitable door; but with a sudden sense of disappointment one looks at the barren red earth, the squalid villages with their unpicturesque, stone-built cottages, at the soot-streaked, smoke-laden streets of the cities, and asks himself, "Am I in Germany, or back in America, where utility is supposed to have crowded all beauty from the streets?"

Westphalia is the industrial center of Germany, and, from the hilly western gateway to the Rhine, coal-mines, iron-foundries, and linen and paper mills crowd one another so closely that the face of the sky looks like those of the miners we meet, which are so covered by soot that their eyes shine out in ghastly whiteness.

The individuality of a city, so prominent elsewhere in Germany, is almost lost here, and we pass through Bilefeld, Dortmund, Bochum, seeing everywhere the same stretches of factory buildings, the cabins of the miners, hills of coal and coke, smoke and dust in abundance, and all those signs of modern industry which made Mr. Ruskin's English so terse and his outlook into the century so pessimistic.

It is just possible that the fame of Mr. Krupp, which has so many varied monuments in Essen, made that city appear different to me, and certainly more beautiful than others. Everywhere the name of Krupp appears: now on the picturesque market-place, on the door of a mammoth

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department store, then on a bronze monument, now over the portals of a church, again over the rustic gates of a beer-garden, over a library, numerous schoolhouses, butcher-shops, sausage-factory, shoemaker's shops and tailoring establishment, over playground and cemetery, and, of course, over the great steel works, which come close to the heart of the city, and whose extent cannot be taken in at once.

The products of this factory have belched forth war on all the historic battlefields of a century, and have also served in peaceful ways to develop German industry, being no small factor in making the trade-mark "Made in Germany" the slogan of industrial war.

The Limbecker Chausee, a broad avenue, leads straight through the factory district; on both sides are heard the hum, hammer, and clatter of grinding wheels and sounding anvils, while at numerous gates stand uniformed porters, whose determined faces tell you to "keep out" even before you have seen the very polite notice posted over the main gateway. This notice, shorn of its politeness, says: "Don't ask to come in here; the favor will not be granted. Go home." This was a hard, iron fact, and after touching the button of my camera at various objects in a defiant way, I went back to the city only to find greater discouragement there. That open-sesame "I am from America" seemed to close all doors more tightly; photographers refused to sell me their pictures; book-dealers looked askance at me when I asked for Krupp literature; and I fear that I was taken for a spy who had come to carry home Krupp guns as a sign of the blessedness of the land.

Faint heart has never won an interview; so I wrote to Mr. Friedrich Krupp, telling him that I had come from America to be able to tell our millionaires how to spend their money, so that their great wish to die poor or be poor before they die might be fulfilled. This note brought a polite reply, and at three o'clock in the afternoon I triumphantly passed the now smiling head porter, and was led (not blindfolded, strange to say) to the Administration Building, through long corridors, into a rather uncomfortable antechamber, and at last into the presence of the man who, with undiminished zeal, continues the work mapped out by his father—that of making the best guns and steel implements in Europe—and at the same time looks after the higher welfare of over forty thousand workingmen and their eighty thousand dependents.

He is still plain Herr Krupp, taking pride in his lowly ancestry, and refusing the titles of nobility so freely offered to him. I have stood in the presence of many great, the titled and the throned, but I have seldom made my bow with greater reverence before any one than before this busy business man, who has not been too busy to think of those who have helped to create his wealth.

"You have come from America to see us; that's very nice. What do you want to see—our peace products or our war products?"

"Your heart products, Mr. Krupp," I replied; and a smile passed over the rather stern face.

At the touch of a bell, a clerk appeared who was to conduct me to the "Central Bureau der Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen," which means the central office of the common weal institutions. I uttered my thanks, once more made my obeisance, and was asked to appear again when I had made my observations. We went through a number of rooms crowded by shelves and pigeonholes which were filled by literature and data upon social subjects, and at last we came into the presence of the Herr Wohlfahrts director, who, with a large force, directs this part of the establishment. He said he was glad to meet me, and very cordially introduced me to his staff.

"The best way to learn what you want to know will be to give you a guide and let him show you about, and he will be at your service as long as you wish him."

Eight o'clock the next morning was the appointed time for the beginning of my tour, and I returned to my hotel quite conscious of having gained a victory.

I spent the rest of the day seeing things with my own eyes, talking to workingmen, listening for notes of discord and hearing none. Men grown gray in the service of Krupp told me many a tale of "der alte Herr," Alfred Krupp, the founder of this immense establishment. The most important of these are well worth repeating.

Alfred Krupp was a lad of but fourteen

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years when, at the death of his father, he inherited the secret of making steel, and also inherited a factory which employed four men, and which financially was at the verge of ruin. "The old lady," his mother, managed the small business affairs, while Alfred stepped into the shop, rolled up his sleeves, worked all day with his arms, and then until midnight with his brain. They lived in a small cottage which is still standing in the factory, and which he did not exchange for a better home until long after his marriage. I now quote Mr. Krupp's own words uttered on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the factory:

"From my fourteenth year I had the care of a family father during the day, added to hard work at the factory, and at night had to study how to overcome the difficulties in the way; during this period I lived on potatoes, bread and coffee, and scant portions of meat, and toiled until late in the night; for twenty-five years I struggled thus, until conditions grew a little easier. My last remembrance of that period is the growing danger of total ruin, and my endurance, suffering, and hard labor to avert the calamity; and I say all this for the encouragement of young men who have nothing, are nothing, and want to get something and be somebody."

In 1832 the factory gave employment to only ten men; at the time of Mr. Krupp's death over forty thousand men were employed in and about Essen, in the factory and the adjoining mines.

"It was in this period of struggle," quoting my informer, "when the old man stood side by side with us, that he learned our needs even better than we knew them, and none of his plans ever miscarried."

Into the stories which I heard that evening were woven all the details of the Krupp victories over English steel and English guns, the rush of success in later years, the various visits of the Emperors of Germany to the Krupp home, and also of the simplicity and straightforwardness of the "old gentleman," whose last wish was that his funeral might take place from the little cottage in which he laid the foundations of his great fortune, and where he planned for the welfare of his people. An old pensioner told me how he was cared for when he became ill, and as his case is a typical one, I shall narrate it in detail:

"I suffered from rheumatism, and, oh! it was a hard time; I had been married ten years and had five little children, the eldest being eight years of age. I was taken to the hospital and was there ten weeks, during which time my wife received one mark a day, which was half of my sick benefit, the other half paying my hospital fees; my wife also received twenty pfennigs a day for each child."

"How long would you be taken care of in this way?"

"At least three-fourths of a year, which gives even the sickest fellow a chance to get well or die."

"Do any of the men object to the slight reduction in their wages which of course is made to pay these sick benefits?"

"At first there is a good deal of kicking, but when a man is here any length of time he sees what is done for him, and he is eager to save his self-respect and pay the trifle of about two marks a month for his sick benefit, You see, if a man pays about one mark twenty pfennigs a quarter he has the factory physician for his family, and receives substantial aid in cases of great need; if I had died, my wife would have received eighty marks to pay the funeral expenses, and during her lifetime half of my old-age pension, and ten per cent. of that pension each year for every child until the fifteenth year of its age. I have worked for Krupp for thirty years, and so am entitled to an old-age pension of fifty-five per cent. of my average wages, and now I receive six hundred marks a year. Oh, yes! an old man can live on that, especially as all my children are working in the same place, having steady employment and earning good wages. No, indeed, we do not get anything for nothing; but Mr. Krupp has done better than if he had given us money: he has taught us to help ourselves."

I gathered much testimony of this character, and everywhere I found men loyally attached to the Krupps; and although many called "the old gentleman" hard and exacting, they all agreed that he trained them to be industrious, skillful, and frugal, and that he never demanded anything of his workmen which he was

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not willing to do himself in even greater measure.

At eight o'clock in the morning I found myself at the porter's lodge awaiting the coming of my guide, when two gentlemen appeared—an inspector with a long title and short stature, and a theological student with long stature and a short title, which student was studying the social problems of Germany, and is now employed in this Commonweal Bureau.

I was led through various parts of the factory, which disclosed nothing different from the usual establishment of the same kind in America, except the prevailing order and cleanliness everywhere, and the cheerful faces of the workingmen.

Not finding me eager to inspect guns and armor-plates, my guide immediately took me to the colonies where are scattered groups of workingmen's houses, which begin close to the factory and stretch out in various directions into the country as far as the bordering woods.

Much more than in America, the question of workingmen's homes is one of prime importance in the more closely settled countries of Europe, for much of the greater evil among the laboring classes there is due in a large measure to their unsanitary houses, where many families live closely huddled, and, at the expense of money, health, and morals, have a portion of a roof over their heads.

Mr. Krupp built model tenements before there were any models to pattern after, and before any other employer in Germany had given any attention to the subject. These early colonies are composed of somewhat dreary and plain-looking buildings, but all of them have plenty of light, air, and elbow-room; there is also a separate entrance for each family, which is quite an important matter. To build cottages on the American plan was quite an impossibility, as the ground was very dear and rapid transit was yet in its infancy, and the workingmen had to be housed close to the factory.

However, I must say, after having been through every type of dwelling in the colonies, that the "old gentleman" had good ideas and knew how to carry them out.

During the first few hours of my tour of inspection I suspected that my guides wished to tire me out, for they led me from cellar to garret, into two-room houses and into five-room houses, into kitchens, pantries, and closets. A hundred times that morning I said "Guten Morgen" to cheerful, cleanly German matrons; a good many times I uttered the same greeting to scowling, slovenly women who proved that model tenements do not always make model "Hausfrauen."

Unruly and unclean tenants are reproved, warned, and finally told to move and shift for themselves. A very strict supervision is kept over the homes, which are visited at least once a month by an inspector, and the rules governing the conduct of the tenants are full of German severity; yet so much appreciated are these homes that there are ten applicants for every vacancy. The prices are as low as are commonly paid for less desirable houses; a two-room flat costs in the older colony $20 a year, while there are a few as low as $15. A five-room flat commands about $60 a year, the highest price in the newer colonies being $80, as many single and double cottages are found here, with what we call all the modern improvements. Further from the factory and better located are the colonies New Western and Kroneberg; altogether there are thirty thousand people housed by the Krupps. These houses cannot be bought, which at first seemed to me rather unjust, but to preserve the character of the colonies they must remain under Mr. Krupp's control. No one is permitted to subrent part of his house, therefore the character of the colonies remains unchanged, overcrowding and the evils arising from lodgers being entirely avoided. Every colony has a private school, organized and maintained by Krupp; there is a park with plenty of green grass which the barefooted children are permitted to enjoy to their hearts' content. A band-stand is a feature of every park, and each colony has its share of "melodious wind."

There is also in each district a branch of the co-operative store, where one may buy anything from a yard of silk to a yard of sausage; there is no credit given here, but a handsome dividend is paid at the end of the year. What would a German colony be without a beer-garden? There is one close to each park, and over them is written plainly, "Owned by Friedrich Krupp." A large hall with a stage and

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a good-sized bar are the main features of these institutions, in which drunkenness and boisterousness are almost unknown, and which have kept the ordinary dive from these localities. The profits, which are not inconsiderable, are applied to the sick benefit fund. At my expressed surprise that drinks passed so freely across the bar, the Herr Inspector said: "Yes, that's our German custom and our German curse; last night at the Stammtisch we had forty-six glasses chalked up against each of us, and even I can see that that is a little too much."

In enumerating the various features of the colonies I must not forget the kindergartens and industrial schools which are found in connection with nearly every one.

Across dusty hillocks on which goats, or miners' cows, as they are called, were grazing, I was taken to see the "Menage," a home for single men, accommodating about one thousand. It is a plain, semicircular building, with a huge dining-room. From the factory we saw streams of men pouring through the numerous gateways; more than half these men live near enough to eat their dinner at home, while those who do not, or who cannot leave their post, have it brought in clean-looking dinner-pails by members of their families. The dinners which come from any distance are brought in a steam-heated wagon, thus assuring the men a thoroughly warm meal.

Single men from outside of Essen live in the lodging-house mentioned, called the "Menage;" nearly a thousand men crowded around the clean tables, and we were invited to partake of their frugal meal, which consisted of bean soup, potatoes, and stewed beef; there was nothing for the sweet tooth, although there was something for a dry throat, and nearly every man purchased a bottle of cheap, light beer, by which the average German workingman might drink himself into bankruptcy, but not easily into intoxication. The men provide their own bread and their own spoons, the latter being often conveniently carried in the boot.

A simple breakfast, and a supper consisting of a meat and a vegetable, make up the daily rations, in which variety is rather wanting. The men who live here belong to the unskilled labor class, who earn about one dollar a day; they are charged twenty cents a day for board and lodging. Of course there is no dyspepsia among them, but none of them look underfed.

From the "Menage" we went to the homes of the unmarried skilled workmen; each of these homes, which is comfortable, contains about thirty rooms, and each man has a room to himself. These homes are managed entirely by the men, and only in case of a deficit in the accounts does the "Bureau" interfere; the men choose their superintendent from among themselves, and he is responsible for good order and economical management. He can discharge men and choose their successors, and is quite a monarch in his domain. Board and lodging in these homes costs two dollars a week; bath-rooms and bowling-alleys are interesting features, the latter being more in evidence than the former. The sick are cared for in a hospital, an old building which is proving inadequate and will soon be displaced by a modern structure.

Shaded by a pine forest rises the friendliest and most beautiful of all the buildings, the "Home for Convalescent Workers." Modern and comfortable in every respect, it has, according to the Herr Inspector, this defect, that it tends to make the average convalescent period longer by many weeks than it used to be. We found the inmates engaged in games, playing croquet, and bowling so lustily that they proved the Herr Inspector's remark a very true one.

Touchingly beautiful are the provisions made for the aged at the colony Attendorf. In quaint single cottages, fronted by flower gardens and far away from smoke and dust, the deserving aged spend the evening of their lives in perfect freedom from care. It seems to me that here Mr. Krupp has laid up his richest treasure, and it gives him much joy to pass through these silent but happy streets. I shall never forget the broad smiles on the faces of the old men, whose long pipes hung below the window, the odor of tobacco mingling with the fragrance of rose and rosemary, while their old Hausfraus, their companions, sat by the opposite windows making the needles fly unceasingly. When one or the other of these old people passes away, there is a beau-

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tiful home by the edge of the wood for the living, where with tenderest care the few lonely years may be passed; and the dead repose in the quiet God's acre close to the beautiful churches, there to await the resurrection day.

The sun was sinking behind the smoke-wreathed hills, the hammers and anvils were silent, the birds in the tree-tops had hushed their songs; it was a rare evening, and the thought which filled my mind was, "Oh! if it were this way everywhere." That night I stood again in the presence of the man who has built upon his father's foundations, and who has built more beautifully and more tenderly than he.

One cannot approach Herr Krupp, after such a day, with troublesome questions. I had seen much and felt more, but all I could say as I went away was, "Oh! I thank you so much."

Mr. Krupp does not propose to die a poor man; he means to leave his estate to another Krupp, and with that estate he means to leave to his descendants the care of all these toilers. There is scarcely a reasonable price which could not be commanded for these works; trusts are ready to swallow them; but to all the offers made to him Mr. Krupp has but one reply: "No, for what will become of my workingmen?"

Before leaving Essen I passed again before the monument erected to Herr Alfred Krupp by his grateful workingmen, upon which they have graven his own words—words which stamp him not only as philanthropist but philosopher—words which I should like to write upon the gulf which separates capital and labor, for these words have bridged the chasm at Essen, and might do it everywhere. These are the words:

> The purpose of labor is the common weal.
> Only so will labor become a blessing, only so labor becomes a prayer.

The Story of an East Side Family

VI.—The Founding and Progress of the Family

By Lillian W. Betts

MARY'S return from the hospital was such a joy that the emptiness and poverty of the home made no impression upon her. Julia had cleaned it, which made it the more barren. Gretchen sent up a hot supper, saying, "You are not strong to cook yet."

The next morning Gretchen's baby was brought up to Mary. For a moment tears stood in her eyes, but they dried quickly. Mary faced a condition that, at least for the time, made her a stoic.

"I must go to work," she kept repeating to herself. "I must go to work. What would I do with a baby!" Before the week was out, Mary's mental refrain was: "Thank God I'm free. What chance would he have? He's better off." Mary had taken another step forward. The days were passing. Jack got odd jobs that brought in barely enough money to keep them supplied with food. The strain was telling more severely on Jack than Mary. She began to tremble for him. What if, in desperation, he should begin to drink! Mary knew that this was the usual resource of the men about. Men who never were drunk when they had work, she knew, kept sober only through the first days of idleness.

One morning Julia came in, and, sitting down, said with a sympathetic smile, "If Jack was a boy, he could have a place at Charlie's shop; dey wants a boy." "How much do they pay?" was Mary's comment. "Three," answered Julia, listlessly. "Do they get any chance to learn to do what Charlie does?" The anxious tone in Mary's voice as she asked this question caused Julia to look at her sharply, as she replied, "I don't know; I'll ask."

Mary had been contrasting the conditions of the families she knew. She found that those who could work at anything were out of work at least half the time. The men who had trades worked three-fourths or more of the time, and when their trades were not dependent on the weather they worked nearly all the time; some,

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like Charlie, had a dull season which for a period meant half or three-quarter time. How could Jack be put into these ranks? At dinner-time Mary saw Charlie at his home, and asked numberless questions about the boy's position in the factory. These questions were so pointed that Charlie at last saw their drift, and asked, "Would Jack take it, Mary? If he would, I'll get it for him. I'll break the jaw of any one who says a word to him."

Mary looked at him questioningly. "Der's a lot of fellers 'ill t'ink it's smart to guy him about doing a boy's work. Dey ain't got sense enough to see that a boy's work is better dan no work, and sich fellers is better fer a punchin'." The lines gathered in Mary's face. The break in the wall that seemed closing about them was not visible now. This test she feared Jack would not stand. Was it right that she should ever ask him to try it? Charlie was quick to see the problem she faced, and said: "Mary, it would be over in a week. The fellers would get on to it, and keep dere jaws shut."

Jack was more quiet than for many days when he came home after a fruitless search for work that evening. The food was less than ever before. Mary saw that Jack was hungry when he left the table.

The end had come.

"Jack, I am goin' to work to-morrow. They are very busy, and the boss will be glad to have me back." Jack did not protest. Mary knew the danger point had been reached. Her voice grew firmer in tone as she went over to him, and, sitting down so close to him that she could touch him with her hand, she said, softly: "Jack, Charlie says dere's a boy needed in his shop." She looked at him anxiously, and hurried to the end. "Charlie says de boy would have a chance to pick up all dere is to learn, and would have a good show at the end of two years of getting full wages; he says dat's how he got in." Jack's face flushed.

"So I'm to ask for a boy's position? No, yer don't, Mary. I'm no kid, if I can't get work." He leaned his head in his hands with his elbows on his knees.

"Jack, listen. We're both kids. Don't yer see dat all de men who have trades and keep sober have work 'most all de time? It's de men like you who have de worst time. Take de place. Charlie 'ill keep it for yer, and help yer. I'll go to work again, and we will get a-goin', and better than before, for we knows more. Der wages is t'ree, and den four. Charlie gets fifteen a week, and most of the time. Der boss is fair to der men, and some has been with him twelve years. Jack, try. It's sure to be better dan nothin'."

Jack was silent. The flush of anger had died, but there was no sign of yielding.

"I know what yer thinkin'. Der girls will talk, and der men will joke yer, but, Jack, we can't stand dis. I can't go home. Mother—" Mary's voice broke.

Jack saw there was still one step worse. They might be separated. "Mary, I'll do it," and Mary saw that bitterest of sights, a strong man who asks but a chance to work, crying, because he faces defeat. After a little while Jack said, "If I could have hired a horse and wagon just for a week, I could 'a' made it go. It's a good trade, dat, if yer only gets a start."

"We'll be all right, I know we will. It's just now. Come. We'll see Charlie, and ye can go to see the boss," said Mary.

As they reached the street and met some men, friends of Jack's, the future looked black. "Yer don't know, Mary. Dey'll all have der laugh on me. Why, der kids will know; dey'll holler on der street; I'll be fightin' every day."

"Jack, when ye've warmed two or three of the kids and licked a couple of der men, dey'll all let yer alone. Der first week'll be der worst. Dey'll get tired." She continued, after a pause: "Yer got ter do it; we can't keep togedder if yer don't." Slowly, "Jack, if I knows I'm goin' to die, I'll never leave home again. If yer learn somethin', I'll never have ter go." This won. The memory of the month without Mary was still vivid and full of horrors.

Charlie's enthusiasm made the announcement of the decision far easier than Jack expected. "I'll help yer lick every darn one of 'em if yer can't do it alone." Charlie looked as if it would be a painful deprivation if he did not have this opportunity to prove his friendship.

"I tells yer, Jack, der man what's got

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a trade is on his feet. Der odder feller ain't even sittin' up. Come, we'll go see der boss."

The next day, in the full strength of his young manhood, Jack went to work in the big frame-factory at a boy's wages. Mary also went to work. The girls who knew her welcomed her; the new girls, learning she was married, commented audibly. After some wordy encounters between the two factions—for such were the conditions Mary's appearance created—and the destruction of two gay and innocent hats, Mary slipped back in her old place, the best worker in the shop. Her experience prevented the old companionship, but it gave her the vantage of adviser, and to some girls monitor. Mary knew how poverty, disorder, lack of space, half-clothed babies, and fathers and mothers whose condition too often opened the door to mortifying experiences made home the most undesirable of places. Again the barren little home became a social center. Mary and Jack were young enough to sympathize with love's young dream, and were entirely familiar with its barren surroundings in their world, as well as its dangers. They gave to their world that which they had never had, the protection of a home for social interchange and companionship to young girls and young men.

The months flew by; Jack's wages were raised more rapidly than he expected. The boss appreciated muscles that gave a man's strength for boy's wages; he appreciated the spirit that took each day's work as a step toward to-morrow's preparation. Jack's eyes served him well. His clumsy fingers were compelled to obey the will that looked to them to give a future that installed Mary once more in her own home. Charlie proved a friend of his word. After the first month Jack's presence was accepted in the shop without comment. There was one man who always called Jack "a sneak" behind his back; he wanted the place for his boy. He succeeded in creating a prejudice against Jack in his own set. But Jack's world was large, and it was years before Jack encountered the man's influence.

The day came when Jack was receiving a man's wages; when Mary stayed at home, and had to train her fingers again to hold a needle, to learn again to sit alone, away from the whir of machinery, the laughter and songs of the girls; to face again that future still mysterious, but now weighted with the certainty of knowledge that did not lessen fear. One horror was gone. Mary was insured, and a coffin, a named grave, and friends to stand about it, was a certainty that robbed death of its greatest fear and dread.

Gretchen was no longer a neighbor. Jacob had moved to a settlement of his own countrymen in the great city, and concerned himself about nothing but his business and the affairs of his district, where he was coming rapidly into prominence. Men who wanted place or power found it to their interest to cultivate the kind-hearted German, who often succeeded in turning their confidences to his own advantage. Gretchen lived in larger rooms over the new store, among her own countrywomen. She no longer troubled herself about the stupid language, for which she had no use. On Sundays she went riding in the glistening buggy with little Jacob on a stool at her feet, and a little Gretchen in her lap. The rays of reflected glory shone upon her. Her prosperous husband confided to her that he was aiming to be the great Burgomaster, and, knowing Jacob, she beamed with quiet dignity on the people who were to be so honored. Her reticence greatly aided Jacob in securing information imparted by other confiding husbands to more talkative wives. For other prosperous and ambitious husbands and other glistening buggies wended their way to the same destination on Sunday afternoons, where, in an environment that suggested Germany, the citizen and his family kept the love of Fatherland a tradition. To have been compelled to return to it would have been exile. Here the adopted citizens generously made decisions that shaped the laws and the politics of the great city; they were a power that must be reckoned with by the party leaders.

Mary and Gretchen drifted apart because of the currents of life in the city where the ebbs and floods make constantly changing coast lines and islands that appear and disappear with the collection of rents.

Jacob's former store was a saloon. The proprietor lived with his wife, who was assistant barkeeper, in Gretchen's old

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rooms. The house now bore no marks of distinction. Like its neighbors, the front door stood open; the oilcloth was worn on the halls and stairs, on which children played at their own sweet will. Light is from heaven, but the poor are taxed for it in New York. The new owner expected to follow the Biblical injunction and build greater. He was to build a new Tower of Babel, for such the old house had become. He would cover his lot and reap a harvest of dollars. The authorities were lenient in the matter of repairs in a house to be torn down in a year or two, or perhaps three. This kindness the landlord fully appreciated, as it enabled him to demand up-to-date rents for a house that had the conveniences and improvements of thirty years before. When tenants were waiting to move in, the raising of rent was merely a matter of business. Jack now paid two dollars more a month for rent under the new conditions. In New York rents increase in ratio to the discomforts for which they pay. The home of Mary and Jack bore many evidences of prosperity, and the lower drawer was crowded full of the evidences of Mary's skill with the needle when the child was born who, to them, would always be their first-born. That unseen son was but a vision.

This baby was a girl. Neither felt that the occasion was quite so glorious as it would have been if the baby had been a boy. The neighbors agreed with them. The men were inclined to sympathize, telling Jack that it could be borne with some honors, as there was always the boy possible in the future. Children followed at regular intervals of time until Mary—fat, with her front teeth gone, entirely indifferent to her personal appearance at home—was the busy mother of five.

She now rented a whole floor and sublet two rooms to lodgers, reducing her rent. Her shrewdness and thrift had made her a successful manager. Her parlor contained a whole suit of furniture; lace curtains draped the windows. On the walls hung crayons of Jack and Mary, drawn by an artist who had commercial relations with a tea house. This house gave coupons with each pound of tea. A certain number of coupons entitled the holders to a crayon of generous size. Of this liberal offer Mary had availed herself, and looked forward to the time when five other crayons would complete the family gallery. The Brussels carpet on the floor was so self-conscious that you never could forget it was there. This carpet was Mary's secret joy and delight. The two bedrooms occupied by the family were totally dark and unventilated. But no member of the family was at all conscious of either defect. The greater number in the family of seven had no recollection of a window in a bedroom. It had been so long since they had counted one among their possessions that it required an effort of memory for Mary or Jack to recall the advantages of light or air in that room.

Jack's family was among the most prosperous in the neighborhood. Mary was its acknowledged foundation. Her house was so well cared for that she rarely had a room to rent, her children were the best dressed in the neighborhood, and her husband was a man who knew his place and surrendered his wages to his wife's keeping—the common practice of the best husbands in their world.

The kindergarten played a part in Mary's development. When her third child was born, she heard of this place where children were taken care of for part of a day in the church on the block below. The eldest child was entered. Soon Mary began attending the mothers' meetings. A new element entered into her life. She began to form social connections; to have engagements outside of her home; to notice styles; to measure herself in appearance; to note the fact that there were younger and better-looking women in the world. Jack had noticed it long ago. No man's wages went as far as his; no man had a cleaner home; no man had his meals more regularly; no man's children were better dressed; but—yes, Mary was a bit sharp, and, well, she wasn't fixed like the other women, and was never ready to go out.

Jack thrilled with pride one Saturday night. Mary had a new set of teeth. Sunday she put on a new dress and hat, and her first pair of gloves. Jack was a proud man as the neighbors looked, nodded, smiled at each other. Never before had they seen Mary in a bonnet. A calico dress and gingham apron, the corner of which provided all the head-

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covering she needed to go to the grocer's or butcher's, varied by a white apron to mark Sundays, had been long familiar to the neighbors. Mary established herself on a higher plane and brought herself into closer sympathy with her neighbors by the revelation of the new interest of clothes. The neighbors saw the enlarging of neighborly interchange, the shopping expeditions, the exchange of views. It was a great day in the social evolution of the family when Mary appeared in her new hat and first pair of gloves, accompanied by Jack and surrounded by her children.

The newness and elegance of her toilet commanded the individual attention of the members present at the next meeting of the Mothers' Club. Mary's good judgment, the years of training in making undisputed decisions in her own home, gave her a self-reliance that made her prominent in this group of women, and a guide in social matters. At the first election she was put into office. Her social evolution was complete.

By the time her baby was seven years old her older girl was talking about going to work. Without thought of her children's future, Mary had trained boys and girls to do housework. She needed their help to maintain her standards of cleanliness and clothes, and compelled it, and compelled the intelligent doing of the work as a matter of economy. No other woman among this group of mothers could command her time as Mary could. There was born in her a love of power and leadership. Her natural intelligence, her habit of decision, often put as able women at a disadvantage, but Mary had come to the front, and her children rejoiced in her. Jack was silent. His wages did not go so far, and it often happened now that Mary left the dinner for the children to manage; and yet Jack was conscious that his energetic wife added to his prominence. On the whole, Jack approved, secretly knowing that Mary had not even questioned as to his attitude of mind. The family aroused public attention in their own world. Mary was being rapidly educated, and was spreading the seeds of knowledge. The women of the neighborhood found a new center of interest. They were learning of the relation between their own homes and the administration of the city's government. The Department of Health, they learned, was to prevent sickness, and cellars and sinks became of interest. The Department of Street-Cleaning was a department of personal interest and concern, and the way a man used his broom or collected garbage called out comment which the men learned to dread. Parks became personal property, and docks more than dumping-places. Hunger was not the only reason for feeding the children, and what they ate became of importance. Baths were no longer a Sunday rite, but a means of daily grace. Schools were of importance, and extravagance in other directions was condemned, for it meant fewer schools. Dark school-rooms were now an offense to every mother. The district leader, who kept his ear to the ground, heard and reported at headquarters. The kindergarten mothers' meeting, the clubs at the Settlements, each had their co-workers in the tenements, but none a more vigorous and able one than Mary.

Her moral intelligence was dwarfed. She did things that caused her leaders to tremble; her lack of experience made her judge every act as one of self-interest; her ambitions made her crafty. In spite of all, with all her weakness and her strength, Mary helped to rouse her neighbors, and it became a fixed fact, never lost sight of, that the city's government was a matter of personal interest to every woman. The district leaders found a new force to cope with that lay beyond their personal control. They found that the representatives from the district must work for it—not as formerly, merely getting something for "the boys," but creating better conditions—if they hoped to continue in office. The voters were waking up; their prodding was in the homes.

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Arbitration at the Pan-American Congress

By Thomas R. Dawley, Jr.

Special Commissioner of The Outlook at the Congress

[Within a few days after the following article was written, describing the dissension at the Pan-American Congress over the most important subject before the Congress—international arbitration—an agreement was reached as satisfactory as it was unexpected. Mr. Buchanan, of the United States delegation, offered a motion which was acceptable to both Chili and Mexico. It accepted on the part of the Congress the Hague Convention, but agreed that Chili's position as expressed in the debates and minutes should form part of the protocol accepting that Convention.—THE EDITORS.]

OF all the important questions at the International Congress of American Republics, that of arbitration as the method of settling international disputes is the most important. It was the chief object of the International Congress held at Washington twelve years ago, as previously outlined by Mr. Blaine, "for the purpose of discussing and recommending for adoption to their respective governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that might thereafter arise between them." When that Conference convened, the committee appointed to deal with the subject of arbitration presented a project by which the nations agreeing thereto were to submit controversies arising between them to arbitration of a compulsory nature. After considerable discussion and some amending, the project, in the form of a resolution, was accepted and passed by a majority vote of the Conference. Only Mexico voted in the negative, Chili abstaining from voting. The principal article of the resolution as adopted was as follows:

> Arbitration shall be obligatory in all controversies concerning diplomatic rights and privileges, boundaries, territories, indemnities, the right of navigation, and the validity, construction, and enforcement of treaties.

This resolution, however, never went any further than the Conference; none of the countries represented ever ratified it. But it is evident that twelve years ago the American Republics stood as a whole for obligatory arbitration. Chili appears to have had little to say on the subject, while Mexico objected to the resolution because it did not except questions which directly affect national honor and dignity.

Although the Conference proved a great step towards bringing the American Republics together, and their integration along the lines originally wished for by Bolivar and Clay, little was heard on the subject of arbitration after the adjournment of the Congress till the world was startled with the announcement that the Czar of All the Russias had extended an invitation to the armed Powers of the world to unite in a great Peace Conference for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. This resulted in the Hague Convention and the establishment of a permanent Court of Arbitration. Mexico, with the United States, appears as the only signatory power of the Western Hemisphere to this Convention; the other South and Central American countries for some reason were not invited.

The resolutions as adopted at the Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes are in no wise obligatory or binding upon the signatory powers for the settlement of such disputes by enforced arbitration, but consist merely of an agreement between them "to use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of all international differences."

When Congress approved the project (in response to President McKinley's suggestion) of inviting the American Republics to a second International Conference, all the countries entered heartily into the project, with the exception of Chili. Chili at once replied that she could not do less than accept the ideas of the proposed Conference as expressed by President McKinley in his annual message, but, referring to the last Pan-American Congress, stated that, regardless of the programme naming the subjects scheduled for discussion, the Committee on General Welfare had presented a project on arbi-

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tration, the fifth article of which considered "all controversies or differences, whether pending or hereafter arising," as questions to be submitted to arbitration, "even though they may have originated in occurrences antedating the present treaty."

Chili declared this to be in direct contradiction with the programme inviting the countries to the Conference, which distinctly stated that arbitration was to be considered as *concerning future questions only*, for which reason the Chilian delegation had to abstain absolutely from taking part in the deliberations at that time. Consequently, it was said, if the Conference in the past could make resolutions to the annoyance of any of its members, contrary to those defined in the programme, Chili could hardly suppose otherwise than that the same would be repeated at the proposed Conference, the object of which had only been vaguely expressed. But if the programme were to be so defined that it could not lend itself to the stirring up of offensive questions, nor take up pending or past questions in which any of the States were interested, the Chilian Government would accept with pleasure the invitation extended to it.

Subsequently a tentative programme was formed by the Executive Committee of the International Union of American Republics, which was submitted to the countries invited to form the Conference. To this Chili replied that she would assist with pleasure at the proposed Conference provided that, in conformity with the tentative programme, it would not take upon itself the adoption of resolutions of a retroactive character relating to actual or past questions concerning any of the Republics invited.

Chili's reply was considered at an Executive Committee meeting which followed, and resolutions were adopted informing Chili that "there was no matter which raised any vexatious question in the first Conference" except the question of arbitration, and that the tentative programme for the proposed Conference "meant prospective and in no wise retrospective, for the differences that may arise among American Republics at a date posterior to the date of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of arbitration that the Conference may adopt."

This reply was satisfactory to Chili, and she at once cabled her acceptance of the invitation to meet at Mexico City, congratulating the Committee on the elimination from the tentative programme of all vexatious questions.

Arbitration now appears as the rock upon which the Pan-American Congress is about to be wrecked, and the inclination of almost every one is to lay the blame on Chili. She has no friends, or, if any, they are very few. It is said that she took from Bolivia a great strip of desert which, under Chili's enterprising spirit, proved a most valuable piece of property, and then she went to war with Peru and Bolivia, and, after defeating their armies on the field of battle, took another territory as a war indemnity, and occupied with her army Tacna and Arica, which, by the treaty they then celebrated, she promised to submit to a plebiscite to decide by popular vote at the end of ten years if the two provinces should remain definitely under her sovereignty or if they should continue a part of Peru. Peru claims that she has repeatedly insisted upon the fulfillment of the above clauses, but Chili has never complied with them. Chili, on the other hand, claims that the country which Peru and Bolivia accuse her of having appropriated was an abandoned strip of desert which Bolivia never made use of, and when her citizens attempted to work the deposits of guano and saltpeter discovered there, they were oppressed by the Bolivian authorities, thrown into jail, and submitted to all sorts of indignities.

Tacna and Arica before Chilian occupation, she says, were focuses of revolution against the Peruvian Government, nests in which were hatched the factions which periodically went forth under the leadership of some self-constituted chief to stir the rest of the country into civil strife. Not only, it is said, were these cities practically abandoned by the Peruvian Government, but they were made hostile by it, and were so dirty that their insalubrity was proverbial. The paludic and tertian fevers which reigned there at all times rendered them fearful pest-holes. The central plaza of Arica was a vast deposit of refuse fermenting in the tropical sun, and in Tacna the refuse was thrown out on the roofs of the houses to be

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devoured by the vultures, the sole sanitary police, to touch one of which was a punishable offense. The Chilians even quote a Peruvian writer in testimony of this, who, referring to Tacna, called it "a *focus of pestilence both material and political.*"

Chili claims that under her administration she has done precisely what we have done in Cuba. From the very moment of her occupation she set to work to clean up both the cities and establish a sanitary police, with the result that within four or five years both these cities had received greater benefits from their Chilian administrators than they had received from the Peruvian authorities during their whole existence. She claims to have eradicated the pestilential fevers by cleanliness and careful sanitation, and the plaza of Arica, once the great central focus of infection produced by its filthiness, the pabulum of intermittent fevers, is now a center of recreation, surrounded by gardens with trees and paved walks.

The prisons, which were formerly nothing but filthy pens in the midst of pestilence, into which men, women, and children were thrown indiscriminately, are now well-constructed edifices with the various departments which good morals and civilization require. Plazas, markets, churches, theaters, and drives have been built in addition to perfect drainage systems which take the place of the former ditches through the middle of the streets which served as sewers. The vultures have disappeared, for they find no refuse to feed upon, and the sewers are now all underground. And, furthermore, it is claimed by Chili that the people enjoy greater liberty and that their life and property are more secure and better protected than they ever were under the Government of Peru. To give Tacna and Arica back would be to turn them over to the old régime of filth, fever, pestilence, and revolution.

Realizing that, for more sentimental than practical reasons, Chili says, her South American neighbors are opposed to her, she did not care to attend a Conference in which she anticipated that she would be open to attack by her enemies, and consequently she insisted upon the tentative programme being defined as not bringing up vexatious questions, nor the arbitration of past differences. Not only did she receive this assurance, she declares, by the interpretation of the tentative programme from the Executive Committee, but also from Mexico, whose guest she was to be.

Peru and Bolivia, on the other hand, were determined to retort on Chili by bringing up obligatory arbitration, both retrospective and prospective—in fact, to them it was the chief object of the Conference. They remembered that twelve years ago the United States was for obligatory arbitration, and, with the aid of this great sympathetic brother, they thought the rest would be plain sailing. But, to their chagrin, the big brother no longer favored this kind of arbitration.

When the Committee on Arbitration met and compared notes, it was found that Chili and the United States practically stood on the same platform. Although the United States delegation was full of sympathy for Peru and Bolivia, its instructions were definite. The Mexicans had a little scheme of their own which they thought would be acceptable, but which was promptly negatived and never published. Then Argentine, in trying to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for Peru and Bolivia, began to make threats to withdraw if obligatory arbitration was not brought up before the Conference. The United States, which had been holding back, then came forward with the Hague Convention, and, to satisfy Mexico's *amour propre*, wounded by losing her project, proposed that, upon the other countries agreeing to it, Mexico should undertake the necessary negotiations for bringing them into it by corresponding with the Netherlands Government as provided by the Convention.

Chili was satisfied with the Hague Convention, and, Mexico's *amour propre* being satisfied, she undertook to get the other American countries to consent to it. Argentine showed her opposition at once, and then there began to be formed a combination to stand out for obligatory arbitration. Mexico as peacemaker then called attention to Article XIX. of the Hague Convention, which allowed the signatory powers, either before or after the ratification of the treaty, the right of making new agreements with the view of

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extending obligatory arbitration to all cases which they might see fit, and she proposed that, if the South American combination would agree to the Hague Convention, they could make an independent treaty between themselves for obligatory arbitration, and she would become one of the signers.

This was satisfactory to the South American combination. They thought by this means they would get back at Chili, and when Mexico went to Chili with the plan, refraining from making known that she was to sign the obligatory project, Chili replied that she did not care what treaty the other countries made between themselves; her only point of objection was that obligatory arbitration should not be brought up before the Conference, in violation of the tentative programme.

It seemed then that everything was arranged satisfactorily to both parties, but when the Committee got together to prepare their final report, Chili discovered that Mexico had agreed to sign with the "obligatory" combination, and that it was proposed to force the project distasteful to Chili into the Conference. Chili accused Mexico of bad faith, and the story went out that Chili threatened to withdraw. This story was persisted in and Chili was condemned as the uncompromising element which was going to break up the Conference.

While everybody talked, Chili had nothing to say; so I took it upon myself to call upon Mr. Walker Martínez, the Chilian delegate, and get from him if possible the story of the rupture. He met me in a very frank manner and gave me Chili's position as expressed above. In reply to my question whether the Chilian delegation proposed to withdraw from the Conference, he said emphatically that they had no intention of doing anything of the kind. They had come to the Conference with the express understanding that the Conference was to be one of peace and harmony. Mexico, as the host, had assured Chili that such was the case and that no vexatious questions would be allowed to come up. Now Mexico had agreed to the obligatory arbitration project in the Committee report, and if she persisted in her intention of bringing it up before the Conference, Chili purposed to fight it out on the floor.

"For my part," said Mr. Martínez, "I am ready to talk on the subject for fifteen days. We have all the correspondence in which Mexico assured us that the subject would not be brought up. Now let her bring it up, and we will show her breach of trust. *It is up to Mexico.*"

Shortly after my interview wtth Mr. Martínez I breakfasted with his colleague, Mr. Matte, who confirmed Mr. Martínez's statement that Chili had no intention of withdrawing. "But why," said he, "does not the United States stand openly and avowedly with us? The policy of Chili is exactly the same. To say nothing of your war with Spain and the taking of the Philippines, which in the eyes of the world is nothing more or less than acquisition of territory by conquest, you have taken, absorbed, and purchased territory ever since your independence commenced. You have turned into fruitful zones great deserts; and we have done the same, only on a much smaller scale. You have cleaned up the pestilential city of Havana and exterminated the fever, just as we have done in Tacna and Arica, and your military power is still there."

The Argentine-Peru combination says to the United States, with a very serious air, "How is it that twelve years ago, when we held the Conference, you favored obligatory arbitration, both prospective and retrospective?" Then the United States answers, equally as seriously: "Gentlemen, the world changes. Many things happen in twelve years; opinions change, events change. Twelve years is a long time ago, and we have changed." Then Mr. Matte smiles a sardonic smile.

And now the Argentine-Peru combination threatens to go home. Mexico, fairly driven into a corner of the fence by Chili, has been looking for a way to get out, and our own able Mr. Buchanan has been propounding all sorts of measures to get her out and prevent the Congress going to smash. She has attempted to retreat from her position with the combination on obligatory arbitration, and they say if she does they will certainly withdraw.

At two meetings of the Conference, Argentine, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Venezuela sought to emphasize their position by remaining away, and last night it was reported that Mexico had sent them word that if they did not attend this

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morning's sessions he would consider all agreements made with them at an end. The session opened with many vacant seats, but during the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting the delegates of the combination came stalking in and solemnly took their seats. Until arbitration comes up for final settlement, there is evidently a nervous strain; but in the meantime a solution is being sought outside of the Congress.

City of Mexico, January 13.

Missionaries in Relation to Ethnic Religions and Co-operation

By James L. Barton

Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

THE question raised by Dr. Bradford in his address to the Congregational churches of the United States, "What is the attitude of our missionaries toward the Ethnic Religions?" is full of interest.

The attitude to-day of the missionaries of the American Board is probably that of all well-established Boards that exercise special care in the selection of their candidates for service; and while I cannot speak with absolute authority upon this point, I believe I can give a reply which is based upon no little knowledge of the situation. After all of my investigation and experience, I have never known of a case where the missionary was not eager to find and emphasize the excellencies that he found in the religions of the people to whom he was sent. I know of many missionaries who search the sacred writings of the people of the countries where they live in order both to understand their religion at its best and also to gather from them passages to show the people that they are not living up to the best light they already have. It is not an uncommon experience for missionaries to take texts from these sacred books when preaching to non-Christian audiences, and then vividly show their hearers how far their lives fail of the highest ideals set forth in the commands and precepts of their own faiths. I have seen a pagan audience touched to the heart by such a sermon when their own unworthiness was proven to them measured by the standard of their own acknowledged and revered teachers. The preacher then went a step further and showed them how Christianity treats of the same subject, and what it demands of its followers in respect to the same principle. Within the last few months I have seen a mixed audience in India in the streets of a large city held for an hour by Christian preachers, some of whom took their theme from the Hindu sacred writings and then led their hearers over to the fuller and clearer statement of the same general truth as it is found in the Christian's Bible, or in the words of Jesus Christ. Many pressed forward to purchase a copy of the Christian's sacred book, in order that they might read and compare for themselves. Did any one feel that his own religion had been slandered? Were the feelings of any one hurt by anything that seemed to reflect upon it? Not by any means. On the contrary, many seemed to feel pleased that the Christian preacher knew something of their own faith and was able to give them so full an interpretation of its meaning, while they were led into the desire to study into Christianity. Almost in the language of Paul, they say, "That religion which ye ignorantly follow, we are attempting to interpret to you in the language and person of Jesus Christ."

I believe that if one searches through the missions of those Boards which send out only thoroughly trained and balanced missionaries, it will be found that the above statements fairly represent the attitude of the missionaries toward the ethnic religions, or, in fact, toward any religions. The missionaries do not believe that Christianity destroys a single excellence in any religion. My recent experiences in Ceylon and India have made clear to me in a broad way the fact that the wise and intelligent missionaries—and few

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were seen who are not of this class—are doing constructive work all of the time. They are not seeking to destroy, but to fulfill.

One other point of the address which I will mention is that contained or implied in the following sentences: "There is a vague but real conviction that the best way to fill the missionary treasuries is to reduce competition. . . . It should be made clear to the most obtuse . . . that missionaries are preaching the Gospel rather than trying to advance their own denominational boundaries. Co-operation as the best way to fill the treasuries should be tried, or valid reasons for a different course clearly stated."

It must be admitted that in foreign missions (and the statements seem to refer to this particular part of mission work) there is not as much co-operation as there should be, and more denominationalism than there need be for the best growth of the kingdom. In spite of this, however, I am fairly of the opinion that the foreign mission field is considerably in advance of the church at home in both of these particulars, and it would be still more in advance were the missionaries not hampered in their plans and work by the denominational demands of the home churches.

A little more than a year ago, in one of the missions of the American Board, during a conference, a missionary of another denomination, in my presence, put his hand across the shoulders of a missionary of our Board and said, "We would come much closer together here in the mission field if only the churches at home would permit it." There are undoubtedly many missionaries who feel under constant pressure to render to the supporting churches denominational returns, so that, in their plans if not in their hearts, increase to the denomination holds a prominent place. But I do not believe that this is the rule among foreign missions as a whole, and I know it is not the case among the missionaries of the American Board.

Let us glance briefly at a few of the recent movements among foreign missionaries towards comity and co-operation. The effort made a few years ago among the Christians in Japan to amalgamate the churches of all denominations into one body, and the failure of the plan because of strenuous opposition upon the part of the American churches, is a case to bear in mind. This is one of many instances where the mission fields were far in advance of American churches, with less denominationalism and more co-operating zeal for Christ. The present evangelistic movement in Japan has seldom been surpassed in any foreign country in its depth, breadth, or earnestness. While remarkable in this respect, it is absolutely unparalleled in the history of the Christian Church in that it had its origin with and is participated in by all of the evangelical Christian denominations, with one exception, in that Empire. In America it has always been regarded as a fact of exceptional significance when all of the Christian evangelical denominations of a single city or town united together for a few days or at the most a few weeks for union services. Here in a foreign mission field, from one end of an empire to the other, covering not weeks but months and even now becoming years of time, is a great revival movement, including some thirty different denominations, all denominations and all nationalities working together as one body, and the end is not yet. In that same country there is a constant tendency to union organizations as "The Church of Christ in Japan," which includes the churches of seven denominations. Others of this class might be cited. In the Theological Department of the Doshisha there are three denominations, representing three mission boards, upon its faculty.

Let us pass over to Ceylon and India for a few more illustrations of this spirit of co-operation. In the cities of Colombo and Jaffna, Ceylon, the missionaries of all denominations, together with the representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association and other Christian workers, meet monthly to discuss the work and plan for its best interests. This is true also of other cities in Ceylon, and of almost every city in India where missionaries of different denominations reside. It has been to the writer a rare and never-to-be-forgotten privilege to meet with these bodies in many different places, and listen to their discussions and see the spirit of brotherhood that prevailed. These assemblies are systematically organized, and discuss questions of general Christian

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co-operation in practical details. Many of them have their committees upon different departments of mission work, so that the waste in duplication is avoided and the strength of the Christian forces is conserved. In these associations or conferences from three to ten different Christian organizations and denominations make up the active membership, which often numbers from twenty to one hundred men and women. Only one testimony was given of the valuable help that came from this co-operative union work. Besides this association of foreign missionaries, in which Indian Christian workers have also a place, there exist interdenominational Indian Christian Associations, with their monthly meetings, organizations, committees, and constitutions from which the missionaries are not excluded, and all for the purpose of promoting harmony and conserving strength. The recent deputation of the American Board found in the Madras Presidency three foreign mission Boards, the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Dutch Reformed Board of New York, uniting together the different churches organized by them under one name, "The South Indian United Church." The plan includes ultimately a common theological seminary and normal training school, with full co-operation in all publication and educational work and a common annual conference for all the Christian workers. The Christian College at Madras, although originally founded by one Mission Board, is now receiving an annual subsidy from three different Boards, with men of different evangelical denominations upon its faculty, and students from all denominations and no denominations upon its rolls. It is no longer recognized as a denominational college, but stands only as a Christian college in which many denominations have a vital interest.

The missions of the American Board outside of Bombay—where they take a foremost part in all union and co-operative movements—occupy, for the most part, fields which are quite separate from those of other Boards. And yet in the Marathi Mission the American Board has no normal training school. In the Deccan, for male teachers, a most excellent school of this kind is well sustained by a missionary of another Board with whose work the American mission is in fullest co-operation, and by whom its teachers are trained. The trustees of the flourishing Theological Seminary of the American Board Mission at Ahmednagar in western India recently sent to the various missions in that country where the Marathi language is spoken a general statement cordially inviting other evangelical missions in western India to co-operate in the working of this theological seminary—an invitation which is receiving most favorable responses.

In the Agra Medical Missionary Training Institute far more men from denominations differing from that of the founder and head of the institution are in attendance than there are of his own denomination. The principal told the American Board deputation that sometimes there were no representatives of his own order in the school.

Perhaps these illustrations are sufficient to make it clear that foreign missionaries are not unmindful of the value of co-operation, and do not, in Japan and India at least, give all their best strength or the greater portion of their time to propagating denominationalism. I have no reason to feel that the countries mentioned above differ in this respect in any essential features from the other great foreign mission fields of the world.

It may not be out of place in this connection to note the fact that for the past eight years there has been held in New York an annual conference of representatives and officers of all of the evangelical foreign mission boards and societies in the United States and Canada. This conference represents the foreign boards of all North America, and every denomination that is conducting a foreign work. The object of the organization is to promote co-operation and comity on the field as well as at home. I venture the statement that there is no other regular annual gathering of Christian workers in the world representing so wide and varied interests, and including so many leading denominations—this all in the interests of foreign missions.

Is it presumption to conclude that the foreign missionaries on the field and the Boards at home are in advance of the home churches in fraternal co-operation

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for the promotion of the kingdom of Jesus Christ in the world in ways that are Christian before they are denominational? I assume no unusual prophetic vision when I make bold to declare that this position of leadership will be maintained in the foreign work until the churches in the United States are compelled to fall into line.

The True Thomas Jefferson[1]

MR. WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS'S volume on Thomas Jefferson is not a biography; it is a series of character sketches; it is analytical, not historical. The author photographs the sitter before his camera in various attitudes—as a lawyer, a farmer, a politician, a public officer, an educator, a moralist, a scientist, etc. This method is not without its advantages in the case of a man so many-sided as Thomas Jefferson; the different aspects of his character are thus brought out in strong relief; his complexity of character is emphasized; his inconsistencies of behavior are explained, because they are seen to be the inevitable results of ingrained inconsistencies in his nature; in a word, the man, who was at once masked behind and revealed in his public acts, is interpreted. But there are counterbalancing disadvantages. No continuity of life and therefore no development of character is disclosed under such a treatment. The man is not seen in his historical relations; one is sometimes puzzled to make out the chronology of the various incidents, and on that chronology their psychological significance partly depends: Jefferson the President is not the same as Jefferson the Secretary of State, and Jefferson the educator is different from either. Some repetitions are unavoidable, and we are not sure that the author would not have made his composite picture clearer if he had allowed himself more repetitions; in short, the analysis is emphasized and synthesis is lacking, and the very brief "conclusion" is inadequate to supply that lack. It is, however, to be remembered that there are biographies of Thomas Jefferson and very good ones, and, so far as we know, there is not any study of his character such as Mr. Curtis has here given. As such study, to one measureably familiar with the life and times of the greatest genius of the formative period of our Nation, this book is both interesting and valuable.

In calling Jefferson the greatest genius of his epoch we do not mean to designate him as the greatest man. In sobriety of judgment, steadiness of purpose, world-wide apprehension of men, moral poise, and practical apprehension of National needs, Washington was so far his superior that there is no comparison between them. But Jefferson was distinctly a genius, with the versatility and the instability, the idealism and the impracticability, the noble faith and the strange inconsistencies, which often characterize men of genius. The American people by the Revolution did more than sunder the political ties which bound them to England; they broke the bonds which bound them to the past, and they had to create not only a new political but also a new social and industrial order. The age was creative. Such an age requires two classes of men. It needs men who are sincerely attached to the traditions of the past, who leave the old ways with reluctance and only under compulsion, who dread the future and know no other light to guide them in it than that furnished by the experience of the past. Such a man was Alexander Hamilton. It also needs men who are intuitionalists, who get their light from within, not from without, who look to the past chiefly if not exclusively for warnings what to avoid, who, not by a study of the past, but by a kind of prophetic vision, lay hold of some great principle or principles of action, and who, breaking away from traditions, seek guidance for the future from these principles. Such a man was Thomas Jefferson.

If all the statesmen of that epoch had been Hamiltons, the United States might easily have become a feeble imitation of Great Britain, with a feudal system as ill adapted to its needs as the armor of Saul was to young David; if they had all

[1] *The True Thomas Jefferson.* By Thomas Eleroy Curtis. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

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been Jeffersons, the United States might easily have followed France out into a fool's paradise, ignoring all the lessons of the past and plunging recklessly into experiments which would have involved the greatest of perils and possibly irretrievable disaster. Jefferson was essentially a doctrinaire; but he lived at an epoch when a doctrinaire was sorely needed. He believed in abstract principles, and was always quite ready to stake, not only his own fortunes, but those of his country, on such principles. Like all doctrinaires, he was an egotist, having unbounded faith in his own visions, impatient of those who did not share his faith, and illustrating his radicalism sometimes by curious, not to say ludicrous, utterances. When conservatives expressed their apprehension of rebellions if the Federal Government was not made strong, he replied that an occasional rebellion was a good thing: "God forbid," he said, "that we should be twenty years without a rebellion." His tastes and his principles combined to make him an admirer of agriculture; cities were abhorrent to him; and he positively deprecated the development of manufactures on moral grounds. "I consider," he said, "the class of artificers as panderers of vice and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overthrown." He wished that no person should be permitted to serve in Congress for more than two successive terms; opposed official mourning and the celebration of the birthdays of public men, lest these customs should lend sanction to aristocracy; and would not issue a proclamation recommending either fast days or thanksgiving days, because a President had no authority to prescribe any religious exercises. Yet this same invincible faith in his own intuitions made him a great leader. It inspired him in his battle in Virginia against church and clergy for that principle of religious liberty which all Americans now assume to be an axiom. "The blue laws of Connecticut," says Mr. Curtis, "were a forgery, but those of Virginia were genuine." Celebration of the mass on the one side, denial of the divinity of Christ on the other, were both capital offenses. Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, and Presbyterians were forbidden to teach or hold services. Lack of respect to a clergyman was punished with public whipping, as was a repetition of failure to attend Sunday instruction in the catechism. It took nine years of persistent agitation, following some previous years of more quiet educational work, to secure the repeal of these and kindred laws and the embodiment in the Code of Virginia of the principle that "all men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion." The same faith in abstract principles made Thomas Jefferson the author of the Declaration of Independence, for, young as he was, no one was thought so fit as he, in that critical hour of the Nation, to formulate its yet unformulated faith in liberty and justice. It made him, too, a firm believer in popular education by the State, when as yet education by the State was wholly in an experimental stage, and enabled him to lay, in the University of Virginia, the foundations of an optional system in the higher education which has now been carried further than it was possible to carry it in his time, although along lines which he projected. In short, Thomas Jefferson was the great experimenter of the creative epoch of our National life, and it is an evidence of his genius that the experiments of this pioneer, who in his own time was counted so rash and radical, have achieved so great results and have been accompanied by so little injury.

This is partly owing to the fact that, though Thomas Jefferson was a doctrinaire, he was not above learning by experience. Happily for him, and, considering his influence on the people, happily for the Nation, he was not in the least afraid of being inconsistent. Perhaps no incident in his life illustrates this saving grace of inconsistency more than his purchase of Louisiana. He was a strict constructionist, and did not believe that the Constitution gave power to Congress to acquire additional territory; he dreaded the concentration of power in the hands of the Executive, and was elected to the Presidency because his teachings had done so much to inspire the popular mind with that dread; he held rigorously to the dividing line between the different departments of government, and one cause of his hostility to Chief Justice Marshall was the doctrine of the latter that the

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Supreme Court could pronounce a law unconstitutional and bind other departments of the Government by its decision. But when Livingston found that he could purchase the Territory of Louisiana, Jefferson without a qualm ratified the purchase. When he found that if the purchase was delayed by a long debate in Congress, French feeling might be excited against the sale and the offer might be withdrawn, he did not hesitate to force the necessary legislation through Congress almost without opportunity for discussion; and when the purchase was completed, he did not hesitate to accept and exercise substantially dictatorial powers over the newly acquired Territory. His acute intelligence was equal to the task of subsequently maintaining that Congress could purchase territory but could not incorporate it into the Union without an amendment to the Constitution, which, however, was never even proposed with any seriousness; but the only defense which he urged when accused of the other inconsistencies in his course was that the welfare of the Nation and the people demanded the action which he had taken. It is this readiness to depart from an abstract principle in concrete action when the occasion requires it which distinguishes a statesman from a doctrinaire. This quality of inconsistency, which has subjected Thomas Jefferson to the sharpest criticism, really made him a great statesman, notwithstanding he was a doctrinaire.

We have but little space left in which to speak of other qualities in this contradictory and enigmatical character. They present contradictions analogous to those which the dispassionate observer discerns in that democracy of which Thomas Jefferson was at once a prophet and a type. His whole political philosophy was founded on his faith in humanity, and yet of all prominent politicians of his time he was perhaps the one most suspicious of the individual specimens of humanity with whom he was most closely associated in political action; his writings show him to have been the pre-eminent idealist of his time, and yet he was also the shrewdest of practical politicians; his note-books and his letters abound with the noblest sentiments, but those sentiments are intermingled with expressions of bitter malignancy against his political enemies, and he is apparently entirely unconscious of the incongruity; he urges on his grandchild scrupulous care in her dress, and generally exhibited such care in his own person, and nevertheless was the only President we have ever had who was ostentatiously slovenly in attire in the White House; he is said by intimate friends to have been a persistent opponent of gambling, but his note-books contain frequent entries of moneys spent at the gaming-table; he was minutely accurate in his accounts, careful in his expenditures, and honest in the payment of his debts, but he bankrupted himself by his extravagant hospitality; he believed in the intellectual capacity of the common people and was an enthusiast in the cause of the higher education for them, but cannot be acquitted of sometimes playing the demagogue by action, if not by speech or writing. Despite these contradictions, he proved himself a great leader, by his clear perception and elucidation of the essential principles of democracy, by calling the Democratic party into existence, by initiating party government, by inspiring Virginia to adopt the principle of absolute religious liberty, an example which every State in the Union in due time followed, by the purchase of Louisiana, without which the United States of America would have been impossible, and by founding in Virginia the first of the State universities which are to-day the glory of America.

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Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

America's Story for America's Children. By Mara L. Pratt. In 5 vols. Vol. V. The Foundations of the Republic. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 6×7¾ in. 172 pages.

The dramatic incidents in our struggle for independence are admirably selected and dramatically told. Liveliness, however, is sometimes obtained at the expense of simplicity and naturalness.

Edwin Booth. By Charles Townsend Copeland. (The Beacon Biographies.) Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 4×5¾ in. 159 pages. 75c., net.

A very appreciative and sympathetic account of the life and art of Edwin Booth, sufficiently full to present all the facts in his career, and with characterizations of his various rôles. It is impossible to read the story of the great actor's life without forming the impression which he left of a singularly beautiful nature and a singularly patient spirit.

Egypt, the Holy Land, and Other Countries. By Vincent Brunner. Illustrated. Published by the Author, Mishawaka, Ind. 5¼×7¾ in. 224 pages. $1.

Esther Mather. By Emma Louise Orcutt. The Grafton Press, New York. 5×7½ in. 298 pages.

Floating Treasure. By Harry Castlemon. Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia. 4¾×7½ in. 403 pages.

A lively boys' story by a veteran in the art of pleasing boy readers.

François de Fénélon. By Viscount St. Cyres. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 311 pages. $2.50.

Fénélon, a saintly spirit in a scandalous age, and meek among the violent, is a character worthy of appreciative study. "The good archbishop," as his own people called him, is best known to us by his "Télémaque," which Hallam pronounces the best of classical romances. His present biographer undertakes to portray him more impartially than his biographers in France from opposite party points of view have done. Weaknesses undoubtedly blended with his splendid powers and virtues, but his memory and example are precious to the whole Church.

God Save King Alfred. By the Rev. E. Gilliat, M.A. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 422 pages. $2.

A story for children written in a popular vein, introducing the various incidents in the life of King Alfred, without any special literary quality.

Happy Day, or the Confessions of a Woman Minister. By the Rev. Emma E. Bailey. The European Publishing Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 480 pages. $2.

Results would follow if all ministers felt toward their work the consecration which the Rev. Emma E. Bailey, daughter and sister of Universalist preachers, brought to her own happy and successful pastorates. Her autobiography tells simply, with anecdote and detail, the events, efforts, and aspirations of a devout and useful life. The atmosphere of her childhood days is indicated by the question her father used to ask his four children: "Children, which would you rather I would do, lay up something in the bank for you, or give you all the education you have strength and capacity for?" A chorus of voices would invariably reply, "Education, father!" Part of Miss Bailey's preparation for the ministry lay in the retirement of a long illness, during which she read the Bible and meditated, and wrote out the reflections which were afterward published in religious papers. At that time, she says, "a favorite day-dream and night-dream was of seeing Christ in the midst of a great company, and myself leading souls to him, when gradually all would come to believe and to be enveloped with a bright and ethereal influence that flowed forth from his glorious presence." And this dream found realization. To any who are doubtful of the power of a woman to act as preacher and pastor we commend the chapters that describe the meetings, sermons, visits, the cares and joys of the parishes in New England, Pennsylvania, and New York in which Miss Bailey wrought with her message of love and the presence of God. The book contains some interesting instances of the perception of a power guiding and sustaining—glimpses of the inner light not withheld from those who seek to live the life of the spirit.

How to Prepare Essays, Lectures, Articles, Books, Speeches, and Letters: With Hints on Writing for the Press. By Eustace H. Miles, M.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 417 pages. $2.

Several good books have been written by Mr. Miles on various subjects, from linguistics to dietetics. This, on a subject in which he has been a "coach" in Cambridge University to competitors for honors, is an eminently practical treatise. Designed primarily for British students, it may be studied with profit by any one who would put himself under a tutor to acquire the art of expression in the best form and style. It is worth noting here that such a man refers to study of the English New Testament as having given him more help in the matter of form and style than any other one book. To emphasize this suggestion a chapter is devoted to an analysis of Matthew vii., 15–27.

In Ships of Steel: A Tale of the Navy of To-day. By Gordon Stables, M.D., C.M. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 316 pages. $1.50.

Dr. Stables knows how to join excitement with instruction in writing books for boys,

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This is a good specimen of his work in this line.

John Chinaman and a Few Others. By E. H. Parker. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5¼×8¼ in. 380 pages. $2.50, net.

The author of one of the most informative books on China has now written a readable book on the Chinese. In substance it reminds us of Dr. Smith's "Chinese Characteristics" and of Mr. Holcombe's "The Real Chinaman," though it is hardly as striking and valuable a contribution to our knowledge of the natives of China as either. Mr. Parker's volume, however, is an excellent one. We are glad that his interesting text is so clearly printed and on such good paper, while the volume as a whole is pleasantly light to the hand. Mr. Parker was formerly a British Consul in China. His narrations in this volume are mostly of personal experiences; they have, therefore, a direct impact. He emphasizes two things: (1) hostile though the ignorant Chinese may be, they never were, to Mr. Parker at least, inaccessible to reason—he never had to dismiss a Chinese servant, for instance—and (2) shifty and crafty as they are, the Chinese officials never fail in the end to settle any complaint, no matter how long pending. For all essential purposes, Chinese human nature is our own; hence, with Sir Robert Hart, the author believes that in any attempt to curb the Chinese spirit foreigners are making a mistake for which they will pay dearly in the end. As far as religion is concerned, Mr. Parker's peculiar position seems to be summed up in the following words: "Personally, and for the sake of political peace, I should like to see the China Inland Mission and the Jesuits absorb all rivals." The most valuable part of the present volume will probably prove to be its reminiscences of such personages as the late Li-Hung-Chang, and of those great Yangtse viceroys, Liu-Kun-Yi and Chang-Chi-Tung. This part is a genuine contribution to history and biography; the rest has been better done by others.

Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Fortieth Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association held at Detroit, Mich., July 8-12, 1901. Published by the Association, Secretary's Office, Winona, Minn. 6×9¼ in. 1034 pages.

Labyrinth of the World (The) and the Paradise of the Heart. By John Amos Komensky (Comenius). Edited and Translated by Count Lützow. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 347 pages. $1.50.

English readers are here for the first time introduced to a work which Bohemians hold in regard as one of the world's great books. Comenius, as a pioneer in educational reform, has fame as one of the world's great teachers, but he was first a minister of the church of the United Brethren, or Moravians, in that calamitous period when it was all but annihilated by persecution and war in the early part of the seventeenth century. It was then that this book was written, which, though a product of the author's youth, the Bohemian Church cherished next to the Bible, as many English-speaking Protestants have esteemed Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Between Comenius's work and Bunyan's there is, indeed, so striking a resemblance, both in form and thought, that they deserve to stand together on the same shelf; but, though Bunyan's is half a century later in date, there is no cause to regard him as a borrower. Bunyan's Pilgrim is fleeing from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City; Comenius's is on a journey through the world to view it, and consider whom to join, and with what to occupy his life. All sorts and conditions of men in various callings and circumstances are passed in review until the Pilgrim reaches "the Paradise of the Heart" in a mystical fellowship with Christ. Though written in a period of cruel suffering, the book is so free from theological animosity that eminent Catholic writers speak kindly of it and its author, yet it is only during the reign of Francis Joseph that its circulation in Austria has been unhindered. As the acknowledged masterpiece of a great man, this translation, to which a suitably antique English style has been skillfully given, deserves to be widely welcomed.

Mind of a Child (The). By Ennis Richmond. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 176 pages. $1, net.

The author, writing primarily for British readers, regards the mind of a child from the wise parent's point of view rather than from that of the psychologist or pedagogue. The ethics of parentage are deemed to be largely shirked. "It is ourselves we want to analyze, not the children. . . . We want to make rules for ourselves before we venture to make them for others." Not what the child's reasons are for doing things, but what his reasons ought to be, is our concern. Regarding the child's mind with reverence and love, as capable of being molded to reason and virtue, the line of thought taken is predominantly ethical, and in its wholesome lessons to parents, as well as in its correction of their common mistakes, the book is marked throughout by good sense and a large humanity.

Minor Festivals of the Anglican Calendar (The). By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, M.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 470 pages. $2.

Under sixty-six chapters, mostly relating to Saints' days, a compend of what is known or piously believed concerning those whom the Church festivals commemorate is here presented. The book is intended "to make the Calendar a useful instrument in the dissemination of Catholic teaching" in the Anglican Church.

Monastery of San Marco (The). By G. S. Godkin. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5¾×8 in. 130 pages. $1.50.

Reserved for later notice.

Monasticism: Its Ideals and History, and the Confessions of St. Augustine. By Adolph Harnack. Translated into English by E. E. Kellett, M.A., and F. H. Marseille, Ph.D., M.A. Little, Brown & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 171 pages. $1.75, net.

It requires the genius of a Harnack to discuss subjects so large in space so small with the acute analysis and luminous generalization found in these few pages. For monasticism the Jesuits are found to have spoken the final word, in divesting it of its original aims to

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become the promoter of that secularization of the Church which it sprang up to oppose. The "Confessions" are presented as "an unparalleled literary achievement"—by no means that recantation of a Prodigal Son which they are often misrepresented to be. Between Goethe's "Faust" and the "Confessions" a striking parallel as well as contrast is drawn. One is prompted to dissent from Harnack occasionally, as when he represents St. Paul and the Gospels as teaching that the renunciation of worldly goods is "advantageous to the Christian." Circumstantially advantageous, as they teach, no doubt, but not essentially, and circumstances alter cases.

Mother Goose's Menagerie. By Carolyn Wells. Illustrated. Noyes, Platt & Co., Boston. 6½×8¼ in. 111 pages. $1.50.

A very clever little book in Miss Wells's characteristic vein describing the visit of two children to Mother Goose's country, and their introduction to her far-famed animals—the little bears, Mary's lamb, Old Dog Tray, and the other friends of our youth.

Narraciones. By Fernán Caballero. **Episodios.** By Antonio de Solis. (Cortina Series in Spanish and English.) Edited by R. Diez de la Cortina, B.A. Published by R. D. Cortina, 44 W. Thirty-fourth Street, New York. 4¾×7¼ in.

These volumes are of value to the serious student of the Spanish language. The capital idea of having Spanish on one page and English on the other is followed. We would also call attention to the large print, grateful to weak eyes. The volumes are easily held, and make good pocket companions. In this day, when the study of Spanish is becoming so increasingly valuable on account of our insular possessions, such works as these should have special notice. The present volumes include a number of extremely interesting historical episodes and narrations; one of the books consists of matter taken from the works of Antonio de Solis, who died in 1686, and the other from the works of Cecelia de Faber (better known under her pseudonym of "Fernán Caballero"), who died in 1877. Thus not merely is excellent reading material for the student of the Spanish language presented; he may also become interested in picturesque periods of Spanish history.

Neurological Technique. By Irving Hardesty, Ph.D. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 6×9 in. 183 pages.

Orations and Addresses. By Richard Salter Storrs, D.D., LL.D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 6×9½ in. 591 pages.

The orations here collected were given on various noteworthy occasions, national, civic, and academic, the earliest being the commemoration of President Lincoln in 1865. Most of them have been separately published, and several are now out of print. Three brief addresses from stenographic notes are added, the last dated in 1896, on the proposed consolidation of Brooklyn with New York. The Pilgrim Press has done well to collect these into this substantial volume. The notes of statesmanlike nationalism and of Christian patriotism which they often strike with a mind enriched with affluent learning and commanding attention by noble oratory entitle them to a place in every American library.

Organized Self-Help: A History and Defence of the American Labor Movement. By Herbert N. Casson. Peter Eckler, New York. 5×7½ in. 211 pages. 75c.

A very unusual book, which we may have occasion to review at greater length hereafter. It is indeed a book in which a hostile critic could point out many faults, but the most scholarly of hostile critics would be obliged to admit that he has found more that is new and significant in this book than in any other recent economic history. Mr. Casson has studied our economic history as a partisan of the under classes, reading, wherever he could find it, whatever has been written in their behalf, and holding a brief for them in his examination of the economic literature written by members of the conservative classes. The result is a history of the achievements of American labor as seen by the laborer, or at least as seen by an ardent sympathizer with his past and present aspirations. We heartily commend the book to those who wish to understand the labor side of labor questions. No matter how great their previous study of economic questions, they will find it instructive; and no matter how little their previous study of such questions, they will find it interesting.

Passenger Traffic of Railways (The). By Walter E. Weyl. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, No. 16.) Ginn & Co., Boston. 6½×10 in. 249 pages.

An interesting account of the development of the passenger traffic of the railway systems of the chief commercial nations, and a valuable compendium of the statistics of passenger travel and fares. It appears that although freight rates in this country are much lower per ton-mile than abroad, passenger fares are higher than in most foreign countries, and the amount of traveling less than in some of them, though our people are relatively well-to-do.

Pulpit Power and Eloquence; or, One Hundred Best Sermons of the Nineteenth Century. Introduction by Arthur T. Pierson, D.D. Compiled by Frederick Barton. Published by F. M. Barton, Cleveland, O. 6×9¼ in. 826 pages.

This is a good collection, but hardly entitled to be termed the "Hundred Best Sermons of the Nineteenth Century." The names of some famous preachers are not included in the list found here; for instance, Lyman Beecher, Thomas Starr King, Robert W. Dale, but in their place are some less widely known. It is remarkable that exactly one hundred men have preached "the best sermons" at the rate of one apiece. One of these discourses, a very good one of its kind, on "The Jolly Earthquake," will hardly be regarded by a correct taste as deserving its place. As representative sermons only can the collection be seriously taken. To select the hundred really "best of the century" is more difficult than to select the right names for the Hall of Fame.

Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760–1776 (The). (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, No. 1.) By Charles H. Lincoln. Ginn & Co., Boston. 6½×10 in. 300 pages.

Not a crude compilation of historical materials, like so many theses lately published, but an

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illuminating history of an important part of our Revolutionary struggle. In it Mr. Lincoln shows that the triumphant fight finally made against the oppressive principle of "taxation without representation" would have been impossible had not the democratic forces in American society been previously aroused and organized to fight other battles against other principles of class rule. The fact that many of these previous struggles had seemed unsuccessful did not materially lessen their value in disciplining the democratic forces for their final victory. Mr. Lincoln's volume is heartily to be commended to those who wish to understand the Revolution. This Revolution was less a sectional struggle between England and America than a class struggle between the aristocratic and the democratic element of society both there and here.

Royal Navy (The). Vol. VI. By William Laird Clowes. (Assisted by Sir Clements Markham, Captain A. T. Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Others.) Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 7½×10½ in. 592 pages. $6.50.

No previous volume of this thoroughly thought out and well-executed work has been comparable in interest to readers in this country with the present volume. The fact that President Roosevelt contributes the chapter on the War of 1812, and that he writes with his accustomed vigor and spirit, will account for this in part; but it is also due to the fact that the larger part of the book is concerned either with the four years from 1812 to 1816, in which the history of the British navy is in a measure the history of the navy of the United States, or with the history of voyages and discoveries, in which topic also the people of the United States are equally interested with that of Great Britain. This latter subject is treated by Sir Clements Markham, the President of the Royal Geographical Society, in two chapters, one treating the period from 1803 to 1815, the other from 1816 to 1853. It would be impossible to name a writer better fitted for the task of describing the history of discovery, in which the British navy has taken so honorable and prominent a part. With the seventh volume the work will reach its completion, and we hope then to review it with some thoroughness. In all externals the book is worthy of unstinted praise, like its predecessors.

Samuel Finley Breese Morse. By John Trowbridge. (The Beacon Biographies.) Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 3¾×5¾ in. 134 pages. 75c., net.

Though lacking the charm of some of its predecessors, this volume—like everything else in this remarkable series of brief biographies—is a good piece of workmanship. The great inventor's earlier career as an artist receives due attention.

Ship of Silence and Other Poems (The). By Edward Uffington Valentine. The Bowen-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. 5½×8 in. 161 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

Stories of the Tuscan Artists. By Albinia Wherry. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 6½×8¾ in. 146 pages. $4.

Reserved for later notice.

The Immortal Life: Belief in It Warranted on Rational Grounds. By the Rev. Lucius O. Curtis, A.M., Hartford, Conn. Privately printed. The Knickerbocker Press, New York. 5¾×8 in. 280 pages.

It is a rare modesty which is content to have a volume of such solid worth as this possesses privately printed. It is a posthumous work by a highly esteemed Congregational minister, finished shortly before his death at an advanced age. The core of the argument is that the universe would not be the rational and ethical universe it is but for the fact that the individual survives the death of the body. The author has read widely and thought profoundly. His reasoning and conclusions, presented here in a cultivated literary form, give his work rank among the best expositions of the truth which he would clear from doubts.

True Stories of Girl Heroines. By E. Everett-Green. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 374 pages. $2.

War Songs of the Prince of Peace (The): A Devotional Commentary on the Psalter. By the Rev. R. M. Benson, M.A. In 2 vols. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5¼×8¼ in. $2, net, each vol.

Typology seemed to have fallen into desuetude when this remarkable work called it again into service. The Psalter is regarded by scholars as the hymn-book of the Second Temple. While a large part of it is eminently fitted for its modern use as the one catholic book of common worship, it is also interspersed with elements, alien either to the Christian spirit or to the modern world, that are a hindrance to reality in religion or obnoxious to a Christian conscience, and so are best disposed of by omission. But Mr. Benson takes a transcendental view of the whole. "The Psalmist is an ideal personage, the Eternal Son of God." The Psalms, taken together, are a grand "continuous epic," in which the struggle of the God-Man to overcome and win the world is typically set forth. This is quite in the vein of the fancy which took the Song of Solomon as a celebration of the mutual love of Christ and his Church. Indeed, Mr. Benson exhibits the King's marriage ode in Psalm xlv. as a hymn of the espousal of the Church to Christ. One will agree with him that Christ will be found in the Psalms, only not in that way, but as God and man are found there in human trust and divine fellowship amid the struggles of mortal experience. One who has read Dean Church on the "Sacred Poetry of Early Religions" will agree with Mr. Benson in attributing to the Psalms an incomparable excellence. But devotion becomes puerility in taking the accidental number of forty-one Psalms in the first book of the Psalter as a mystical implication of the "perfected probation" of Christ. Admirable in other respects as is the religious spirit in these volumes, it is unfortunately at war with the sound learning that it needs as ally.

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Correspondence

How Shall We Think of the Dead?

I.

(1) Do you make any distinction between the righteous and the unrighteous dead? The article does not seem to me to be clear. Certainly the Scriptures teach the conscious existence of the departed; but (2) would you imply that there is to be no simultaneous resurrection of the dead at some future period? (1 Thess. iv., 16; Rev. xx., 13; 2 Tim. ii., 18.)

S. E. Q.

II.

You say, "There will be no long sleep, no waiting resurrection; every death is a resurrection, no further use for the body," etc. I believe as you do, but I wish you would give your explanation of those verses which are claimed to teach the resurrection of the body and final postponed general judgment. M. S.

III.

You say, "There are no dead," "There is no death," "*All* rise from the dead as he [Christ] rose from the dead, and *live as he lives*." Yet the Bible speaks of the "second death," and it refers to "them that are saved and them that *perish*." I fear that many who read your page will not take hint from your words, "*If I am counted worthy* of their fellowship in the life eternal," and will understand you as teaching that all men at death enter that "larger life of divine service." O that *all men would seek preparation* for that life!

D. W. B.

IV.

In the article "How Shall We Think of the Dead?" the author refers to the spiritual world which is ever manifesting itself through the material world, "a perpetual but invisible Presence" (the capital is the author's). What is the invisible Presence, "veiled yet revealed in all phenomena"? What is it that is thus veiled yet revealed? "A love of beauty in all forms of beauty, an intellectual skill in all mechanical contrivances, a true spiritual consciousness in all seemingly unconscious operations of nature, an ever-present and eternal Energy from whom all things proceed—Energy whose thought is in all nature's ingenuity, whose thought is in all life-processes." I understand now that we are thinking of God, but when did God come in? Was God the "invisible Presence" with which we began our thinking of the spiritual world, and has it been God all through? Is the spiritual world identical with Him? I can think of God as immanent in the spiritual world, and the material too, but is not a more definite and personal idea of God than is conveyed in this allowable? "The love of beauty in all forms of beauty, the intellectual skill in all mechanical contrivances, the true spiritual consciousness in all seemingly unconscious operations of nature"—this belongs to, is part of, the spiritual world, to be sure, but is it not too vague and impersonal and pantheistic as defining God himself? I have therefore to confess that the idea of my being set off "as a spark is struck from a hot iron by the hammer" by this spiritual-world idea defined in the language above, but personified as "Him," and afterwards spoken of as God, is vague and unsatisfying, and in no way helpful to my thinking of those who are gone to that higher life. With such a postulate, with such a hypothetical basis for thinking of God as this gives, the other world and life are obscure indeed, it seems to me.

And so the remainder of the article loses, to my mind, much of the enlightenment and comfort it might afford, if only this earlier and essential idea of the personality of God were not left so vague and indefinite. If Christ be discounted in his divinity, his essential oneness with the Father, God himself be merged in the properties and conditions of the spiritual world, so that they are identical and indistinguishable the one from the other, it is certainly difficult to determine or answer the question, "How shall we think of the dead?" J. C.

[The Bible is a book of instruction for life here, not a book to satisfy our curiosity about life hereafter. Its various apparent teachings respecting the future can be reconciled only upon the doctrine that there is recorded in it a progress of faith,

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which finds expression in the various utterances of different writers, and by the further fact that those utterances are to be interpreted in the light of the times in which they were made, and of the opinions of the people to whom the utterances were addressed. The supreme test, to the Christian believer, of all teaching in the Bible is the teaching of Christ, and Christ is very explicit on this subject: "Whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die;" "I go to prepare a place for you, . . . that where I am there ye may be also." Christ is not in his grave; his disciples are therefore not in their graves. Assuming this progress of doctrine in the New Testament, and this principle for the interpretation and reconciliation of the apparently inconsistent opinions of different writers, these opinions indicate that, first, every death is a resurrection; secondly, certain passages which are claimed to teach the resurrection of the body, specifically 1 Corinthians, chapter xv., teach directly the reverse; thirdly, the "second death" of which the Apocalypse speaks is extinction of being, and that, while the future state is necessarily left vague and undefined, the metaphors and figures of the New Testament point to the final destruction of those who persistently resist all divine influences leading them to God, in whom alone is the secret of life. As to the personality of God, the writer of the editorial in question of course believes in it, and also believes that it receives its supreme historical illustration in the life and character of Jesus Christ; but we know that Jews before Christ and devout pagans outside of Christianity have also believed in the personality of God; the faith in God's personality is not dependent upon, though it is illuminated by, faith in Christ's divinity.]

The New Method of Missions

To the Editors of The Outlook:

There is nothing new about missions except the method. When man's head first became a head, it wanted every other head to think just as it did. The more immature the mind, the more was it so determined. The primitive man probably took his neighbor's shock-head with one fist and pommeled it with the other till he made the right confession of faith. This method was followed through all the ages, and reached its highest height and greatest perfection in the terrible Inquisition, which paralyzed human thought for centuries. The Inquisition had a good working basis: This man, my neighbor, is going to death and destruction with the speed of time. It will be the truest kindness if I can stop him in his mad career. It is well to crush his thumb, rack his whole body, burn it in fiery flames, if I can save his soul. Men who said their prayers, and had family worship and grace at meals, pulled out nails and gouged out eyes. Very likely the service was begun with prayer and closed with the benediction. Perhaps they whispered Bible verses to one another between the screams. But it would not work; experience proved that it was a mistake, and as it was not really pleasant, it was abandoned.

Some time over a hundred years ago Christendom was moved with a great zeal. In America it started somewhere near the Williamstown haystack. We have the gospel of life and joy; the heathen have it not; we must give it to them. The idea was based upon the utter loss and death of all the heathen world. The work was undertaken to save them all from immediate hell. Their ancestors and themselves were without a ray of light; they would go down together to the blackness of darkness. So devoted men and women hastened away to their self-denying work, the new homes were formed far away, the Bibles were printed, the tracts were scattered, and the light shone in the darkness. It was one of the greatest uprisings of humanity that the world had ever known—the modern and far nobler "crusades."

Toward the close of the last wondrous century questions without number arose. It was said of a gifted Englishman that he woke every morning with the feeling that everything was an open question. That was the way of the end of the century. Among the rest, Missions had to pass the ordeal. Were they rightly started, rightly conducted, well planned and worked, and on the whole satisfactory? Was the foundation right? Were the heathen lost? Were they and their ancestors without any hope? As usual with all the great questions of the world, these were greeted with a howl of execration. Mission Boards were con-

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vulsed about them. Good men were kept at home because of them. Was it not Mr. Hume, who was decorated by her lamented Majesty, Queen Victoria, for his great services to India, to whose return to India strenuous objection was made because he did not think the heathen were as bad off as others thought they were? We heard that it would cut the nerve of missions if we did not hold fast to the sure death of all the heathen. But, quietly as the coming of the blessed morn, the whole outlook has changed. The wise men to-day hold that the good God never has left himself without a witness, in that he did good and sent rain from heaven and fruitful seasons filling our hearts with food and gladness. God has spoken to Plato and Socrates and Confucius and Gautama, though not as full and clear a word as by his dear Son Jesus Christ. We have come back to the great Swiss reformer Zwingli's beautiful word: "In the company of the redeemed you will see Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, the Catos, the Scipios. In one word, not one good man, one holy spirit, one faithful soul, whom you will not then behold with God." We are persuaded that this new method of missions has come to stay. We believe it to be the true method, and we therefore believe that the results of it will be far grander and more lasting than the old. We shall say to the heathen: "My brothers, we come to you as friends and brothers; we recognize all the truth and light that you and your fathers have enjoyed. You could not have endured as you have without them. We want to learn every true thing which God has taught to you. But God has given also to us his holy truth; we have many things we want to tell you. Nothing but good can come from our conferring together." We fancy that there will be less danger of Boxers in this method than in the other. It is teaching Christianity after a Christian way. It partakes of the gentleness and meekness of Christ. It substitutes patience and humility for pride and arrogance, brotherly conference for controversy.

We are persuaded that it is after this method that all the great coming work of religion will be wrought. In the New York State Conference of Religion we have found that this is the only way, and we have much enjoyed it. All sorts and kinds of religious people have met and parted with the greatest good will, and Rabbi Gottheil has sat in the chancel with Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist ministers. No one was hurt by it, but all were helped. If you want to love your neighbor you must know him, and if you want to know him you must get alongside of him. A handshake is worth, oh! so much more than a bayonet-thrust. God means to conquer this world absolutely; it will lie consciously at his feet, and he means to do it by love. Here is the true and only and final unity: "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him."

(Rev.) SAMUEL T. CARTER.

Protestant Missions

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In reply to the article "A Novel Religious Movement" in your issue of December 28, allow me to say that the kind of religious meeting of which Mr. Lynch writes is by no means a new or a novel thing in this country. "The Parochial Missions Society" of the Protestant Episcopal Church has been doing just such work in the United States since 1885. At that time a mission was held in New York City, and in other large cities, where "missioners" from the Church of England and American clergymen took part. The results were greatly beneficial, especially to weak and indifferent congregations. The minister of the parish for the ten days of the mission places his parish entirely in the hands of the head missioner (for there are two or three working together), and himself becomes secondary to them. Mothers' meetings, children's services, special services for men only, are the principal features. There is no excitement and no "testimony" or "experiences" are given. Conferences with the missioners are encouraged, and special requests for prayer, for self or friends, are asked for. The chief missioner being in charge can speak on subjects and on parish difficulties with a freedom which the pastor could not use without giving offense. If any one interested in this general subject wants further particulars or advice or literature, let him address the Parochial Missions Society, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York.

J. N. PERKINS.

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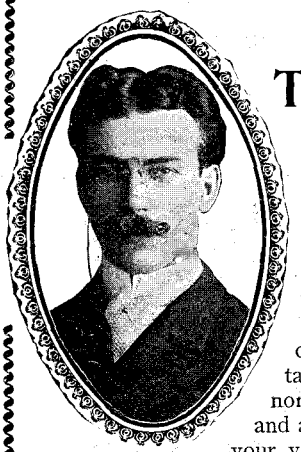

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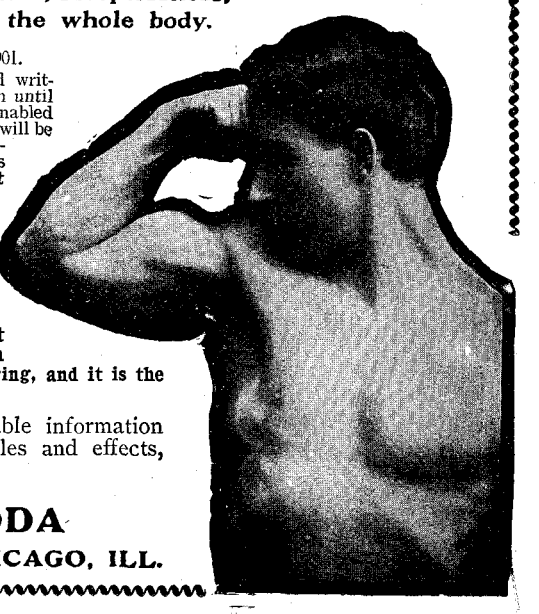

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